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CALIFORNIA'S MANPOWER DILEMMA

Its Lessons for the Nation

by Donald Law

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NEW MASSES

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Vol. 50-51

BEHIND THE (N. Y.) TIMES

by A. B. Magil

"WHITE COLLAR" PROBLEM?

Lyle Dowling and Lewis Merrill argue some questions of approach and tactics.

BOLIVIA: ANOTHER NAZI BRIDGEHEAD

by Frederick V. Field

STEEL AND RAILROAD CRISIS

by The Editors

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: "World Currency Headache" *by Eugene Varga*; "On the Eve of '44" by *Colonel T.*; A Message from Morris U. Schappes.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

HAPPY NEW YEAR to *you!* Never has the old greeting held so much meaning. It's going to be a tremendous year: of work, of struggle, of solemn drama, and finally of victory. We wish all our readers the best possible for 1944, in the trials and triumphs facing men and women of good will the world over. We thank them for the sustenance of their faith and support during the year just past. And we join hands with them—with you—in the only New Year's resolve worth making: to continue the fight more strenuously than ever for a world free of war and fascism.

UNDOUBTEDLY you remember the discussion, "Free Speech for Fascists?" by Earl Browder and Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, which appeared in our December 7 issue—which grew out of a previous discussion titled "Unity With Communists?" A number of readers have expressed their own views on these two questions and of course the greater volume of mail at present deals with the latter phase of the discussion, "Free Speech for Fascists?" In view of the widespread interest, we are particularly glad to be able to tell you that NM will soon carry a symposium on that subject, with a wide range of contributors including: Heinrich Mann, Howard Fast, Rabbi David de Sola Pool, and Mrs. de Sola Pool, the Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Carl Murphy, president of the Afro-American Newspapers, and Vida D. Scudder.

Something else we're pleased to announce—not an article but a forum—will especially interest Detroit readers of the magazine. It is an "Interpretation Please," like those the magazine has frequently run in New York, but sponsored and arranged by the friends of the NEW MASSES in Detroit. Its subject is "Crisis on the Home Front," with various phases of that crisis discussed by Geraldine Bledsoe of the War Manpower Commission; Shelton Tappes, recording secretary of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO; Katherine Lynch, newspaper writer; Samuel Milgrom, western regional director of the International Workers Order; Yale Stuart, organizer of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America; Clarence Anderson, executive secretary of the Metropolitan Council of Detroit of the Fair Employment Practice Committee; and Elvin Davenport, prominent Negro attorney. The Rev. John M. Miles will chairman the meeting and the experts on the platform will answer questions from the audience. Time: Sunday evening, 7:30 PM, January 16. Place: the Twelve Horsemen's Civic Center, Detroit.

And another announcement, designed to soothe those readers who will be wanting to know for the next few weeks what has happened to their favorite drama critic, Harry Taylor. We hasten to assure you that Mr. Taylor will be back soon; he is simply on leave for four or five weeks, in order to finish an urgent writing job elsewhere. And to the Taylor fans who can't wait: he says he *may* find time in those weeks to cover one show for us at least.

Joseph North's series on America at war will be resumed in the near future, with two articles remaining: one on how the people of America are fighting the peril of racism; and another on the whole question of labor's political action. That announcement, too, is by way of reassuring impatient readers, who want more of the reportage they got in Editor North's first three articles. We still receive some very warm comment on those pieces, and the last one, on the Sleepy Lagoon case, brought mail not only from California but all parts of the country. We are glad to see, by the way, that Sleepy Lagoon is waking more and more people to the injustices done in connection with that case. A few hours before this was written we saw a news story to the effect that 300 outstanding Hollywood stars, directors, and screen writers, had contributed five dollars apiece for a benefit for the twelve Mexican-American youth who have been victimized by the injustices growing out of race prejudice. Other cities please copy!

Another case of rankly un-American injustice, dealt with in NM's editorial columns, is bringing indignant comment from many Americans. That is the persecution of Mrs. Raissa Browder. Without detailing again in this space the shameful story of that persecution, we once more ask our readers who know the story already to appeal to President Roosevelt to reverse the action of the Board of Immigration Appeals which upheld an order for her deportation. NM will have more to say about this case in future issues. Meanwhile, in the name of American justice and elementary decency, please see that as many people as possible are informed of the truth of the case and roused to protest it.

MISCELLANY: While we didn't reproduce the painting by Burliuk (page 20) for that reason, we can't refrain from calling our readers' attention to the fact that the place the artist depicts is the very street corner where NM's offices are located.

Very soon, when all the returns are in, we shall be able to give you a full, final report on our drive for 5,000 new readers by January 1. Suffice it to say right now that the response which came in two days after Christmas, was "something terrific."

Paul Rosas, who wrote the stimulating article on Lewis Henry Morgan in our November 30 issue, asks us to make two corrections. In listing some of Morgan's personal friends among the Abolitionists he included Wendell Phillips. This should have been Wendell Phillips Garrison, who was editor of the *Nation*. A typographical error also occurred in the name of another of Morgan's Abolitionist friends, which appeared as Calvin B. Husin. This should have read Huson.

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NEW MASSES
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CALIFORNIA'S MANPOWER DILEMMA

There is no phase of our economic life which can be unessential in total war. Every phase must be planned, must be guided, must be brought under central administrative control. Total war requires that our vast economic system be operated along the organizational lines of a single industrial system. Tolan Committee—Third Interim Report.

CALIFORNIA means many things to many people. The diligent efforts of the state's chambers of commerce have given Easterners the picture of a land studded with oranges, movie stars, and palm shaded beaches. John Steinbeck and Carey McWilliams have detailed the picture of gigantic finance agriculture. The movies have spread the impression of one large motion picture studio surrounded by incidental services.

Less well known is the picture of California as one of the most vital war production areas in the country. The exigencies of war have wrought mighty changes in California economy. Here, among the orange groves and drive-in barbecue stands, is being forged a considerable part of the nation's weapons of battle. Twenty percent of the total of aircraft and aircraft engine contracts and sixteen percent of contracts for cargo and naval vessels are held by California industry. Agriculture and food processing, the state's biggest peacetime industries, have been shoved into third and fourth places by the roaring ship and aircraft plants.

Accompanying the growth and change in the state's economy has been a boom in population which is reminiscent of gold rush days. Huge manpower demands and the working conditions of organized labor have attracted hordes of workers to the industrial centers. According to figures of the National Industrial Conference Board the population of California increased from April 1940, to April 1943, by 650,000, or 9.4 percent, bringing the total to 7,558,000. The bulk of the numerical increase was in the San Francisco Bay area, which showed an 11.7 percent rise to a total of 2,041,000.

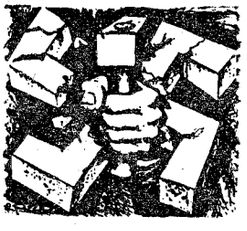
The influx of people from other states has been accompanied by a shift within the state from rural to urban areas. In the three years to the end of 1943, thirty-four of the fifty-eight counties of the state lost population. Only the industrial counties showed gains.

The great surge of population into the state and into urban areas made desperate a housing situation already serious. Authorities state that a vacancy rate of less than five percent indicates an acute housing shortage. The vacancy rates for Los Angeles and San Francisco were between six and eight percent before the war. The current rate is one-half of one percent. If only housing fit to live in is considered, the rates are about one-tenth of one percent for San Francisco and three-tenths of one percent for Los Angeles.

IN THIS explosive situation the government housing organizations, particularly the National Housing Agency, have been notably dilatory and bereft of foresight, and have displayed a characteristic refusal to consult local groups. The NHA's programs have been invariably below actual needs. It is accused of being under the dominance of real estate interests and of favoring private over public construction. Figures appear to bear out this contention. For example, of 13,000 units programmed for Los Angeles, 12,000 were for private construction, involving the use of more expensive materials, higher construction costs, higher rentals, geographical location far from industrial plants and within racially restricted areas.

Illustrative of the lack of reality in NHA's thinking is its proposal made late this year that 11,000 old age pensioners in the Bay area move to 4,200 vacancies (conscientiously surveyed by NHA) in the mountainous Mother Lode country 150 miles inland. Thus NHA proposed to relieve the housing shortage. The proposal received less than serious consideration from the public.

For racial minorities, especially Negroes, the housing situation is most acute. Again the NHA has shown elephantine obtuseness. San Francisco Health Director Gieger stated the immediate need of at least 1,300 homes for Negroes. Mayor Rossi cut this to 500. NHA scheduled 250. In Los Angeles in October, 1943, NHA announced a program of 3,250 housing units for Negroes for a year and a half period. The CIO estimates that 5,000 Negroes are entering the city each month.



THE attitude of Los Angeles officialdom is illuminating. Acting Mayor Orville Caldwell, appearing for Mayor Fletcher Bowron before a House Naval Affairs subcommittee on congested areas, pleaded with the committee to halt the influx of Negroes. He predicted acute racial problems unless the migration is stopped. At the time this statement was made, Los Angeles had an estimated manpower shortage of 50,000 to 100,000 workers.

As California's population soared, so did her cost of living. Never low, San Francisco's cost of living is now highest in the nation. Los Angeles holds an unenviable sixth place. While financial groups chant the legend of the shipyard worker in silk shirts and patent leather shoes, the real wages of the shipyard worker have increased only eight percent since 1939, while his work week has lengthened twenty-five percent. What must be the situation of workers in less well organized industry?

Agriculture and food processing have suffered severely with the migration of farm and packing labor to urban centers. Nearly fifteen million dollars worth of crops were lost in 1942 due to farm labor shortages. The bulk of this loss was in cotton, a crop unpleasant to work and with notoriously low wages. Losses in 1943 have been sharply reduced, due mainly to the importation of 30,000 Mexican nationals who formed seventy percent of the total farm labor force. Discrimination against Mexicans, revealed in the Hearst-inspired "zoot-suit" riots in Los Angeles and in the "Sleepy Lagoon" case, have prompted forces in Mexico to protest a repetition of the arrangement. Farmers are prepared to ask for 70,000 Mexican nationals in 1944. A great deal of credit for the reduction of crop harvesting and canning loss in 1943 must be given to volunteer labor recruited in an intensive campaign supported by civic groups, newspapers, radio, and organized labor.

The CIO has accused California agriculture, for the most part big-business owned, of failing to convert to vital foods. It estimates that only five percent of Cali-

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fornia's 460 million acres have been converted to the "basic seven" war diet foods during 1943. The profitable luxury items apparently have greater appeal to the corporation farmers.

An interesting sidelight to the situation in agriculture is the development in San Francisco of the "Free Farmers" market. The market was located at a central spot in space made available by the city. Here local farmers bring perishable crops for direct sale in lug box and bushel bag quantities. The costly middleman is eliminated at great savings to the housewife and the farmer turns to profit produce which otherwise would have spoiled. The experiment has been so successful that similar markets are urged by labor and progressive groups.

AN ANNOYING aspect of the war boom is the reduction in laundry, restaurant, and shopping facilities. "Help Wanted" signs are up in every restaurant window. Shirts sent to the laundry may be expected back in three weeks or may not be accepted at all by the overcrowded and overworked laundries. Queues are a regular feature at the grocery stores. And with three shift operation of factories most stores are open only during the day.

The war has brought a startling increase in juvenile delinquency. In Alameda County, where Oakland and Berkeley are located, juvenile delinquency increased during 1942 by thirty-two percent over 1941. In 1943 it showed an estimated increase of forty-six percent over 1942. These figures may be taken as typical for other industrial counties in the state.

In the face of this situation Governor Earl Warren, with the assistance of the reactionary majority in the state legislature, passed the Minors Emergency War Employment Act. This act allows the governor to relax all child care, school attendance, and child labor laws of the state. This is in direct contradiction to the War Manpower Commission statement of policy which asks that federal and state legislation on child labor and school attendance be maintained during the war. So far Warren has been very cautious in the use of the exhorbitant powers granted him. Prudence, however, dictates extreme vigilance on the part of the public and organized labor.

Part of the solution to the delinquency problem lies in increased nursery and older child care facilities. The Lanham Act has provided funds for the operation of such a program, yet local communities have failed to make complete use of the funds and in some instances have opposed the program. The total capacity of all such facilities is still less than adequate for current and anticipated needs according to most estimates, even though present capacity is not being fully utilized. In September 1943, Federal Works Administrator Fleming stated that only one-fourth of capacity of Lanham projects in the state were being used. One month after this statement, attendance had jumped twenty-five percent.

There are many reasons for insufficient utilization of current projects. Perhaps the most important is lack of publicity. The idea of child care and nursery centers for the children of working mothers is a new one and needs publicity not only as to location but also as to purpose and policy. Another reason for lack of use is poor location, in some instances, far from the homes of the mothers or from the factories. The location of some such centers at or adjacent to the factories has been suggested by the CIO.

Low standard of supervision has been alleged in some projects. Two centers in Oakland were boycotted by an AFL local for this reason. Child care is a complex profession calling for special training. A teaching certificate representing four to six years of college study is required for attendants of centers in California. The pay is low and qualified help is difficult to recruit.

In some centers the size of fees has been prohibitive, running as high as seventy-five cents a day. Fees in Lanham projects have recently been reduced and standardized at fifty cents a day in California. This fee applies to nursery projects only and covers the cost of food, laundry, etc. It is generally felt that costs of extended day care centers (after school programs) should be borne by the regular school systems as a part of their regular function. Elimination of fees altogether has been recommended by some groups; this is not impossible within the terms of the Lanham Act.

A defect of the Lanham program is the lack of provision for children under two years of age. Younger mothers, those most likely to have husbands in the armed forces and therefore most likely to be working, are also most likely to have children under two. The importance of the child care problem is indicated by the statement of a War Department commission sent to Los Angeles to increase manpower in the airplane industry. The commission told local officials, "You have lost planes and you will lose more planes in this area for lack of child care." In this connection WMC figures for the nation show that eight women are leaving work and refusing to accept further employment for every ten persuaded to enter the labor market. A large share of the blame for this unfortunate situation must be charged to the inadequacy of the child care program.

INTO the highly charged picture of wartime California, with its roaring industry, booming population, and overtaxed living facilities, was introduced the West Coast Plan of the War Manpower Commission. The plan's significance is seen in statements of officials in Washington that failure of the plan will force them to ask for labor draft legislation; some implying that they would prefer a compulsory to a voluntary solution of the manpower problem.

The West Coast plan, designed to make the most effective use of labor in vital West Coast industries, does not embody new ideas. Its basic features: the classification of industrial plants by degree of urgency in the war effort, and the controlled referral of workers to plants in order of urgency, were outlined by the state CIO Council a year ago in convention. The WMC, charged with executing the plan, had the authority to put it into effect a year ago. That the plan, or a similar plan, was not introduced until September 1943, reflects a characteristic tardiness. WMC prepared the plan in Washington without consulting local labor and business organizations and without consulting its own West Coast representatives. War Mobilization Director Byrnes issued it as a mandate. Yet it carries provisions which cannot be carried out without whole-hearted cooperation from labor, management, and local communities.

It is, however, a step forward. It clearly outlines the authority and duty of WMC and eliminates overlapping jurisdictions of agencies previously concerned in one way or another with manpower. It sets up apparatus to correlate manpower allocation and production planning. One of its defects is the failure to include representatives of labor on the two all-important committees the plan sets up, the production urgency committee and the manpower priorities committee. The function of the production urgency committee is to determine what shall be produced and who shall produce it, to review contract proposals, and to withdraw contracts where investigation shows it necessary. The manpower priorities committee is charged with the responsibility of determining which plants are entitled to additional manpower and which plants must reduce their labor force. Labor is in a good position to supply the needed information for both these committees. As illustration there are the cases of the General Motors assembly plant just outside Oakland and the American Can Company in San Francisco.

The General Motors plant operated at the start of the war as a tank and truck assembly center. It was closed down and is being used as a warehouse. Its trained and experienced workers were lost to other industries and their skills dissipated. At or about the same time a plant in Stockton, Cal., was retooled and converted to truck and tank assembly and a new group of workers trained for the new operation. The CIO, which had jurisdiction in the Oakland plant, was aware of the waste involved in this operation but WMC was not set up to handle such matters at that time.

In San Francisco the American Can Company had no war contract and its management made no effort to secure one. The CIO campaigned for and secured a contract for the plant and thus prevented the loss of the use of valuable machinery and labor skills.

The transfer or introduction of new industries vitally concerns labor. Cali-

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fornia is loaded with special purpose war plants, introduced at the expense of the state's normal and long-established industries. Labor urges that any contracts withdrawn from the area be those special purpose "war babies" and that, wherever possible, contracts be maintained in those plants most readily convertible to normal peacetime production. Labor cannot contemplate with equanimity a situation in which the defeat of fascism will mean immediate employment crises.

Already in operation in Northern California at the time the West Coast plan was introduced was a local plan. Established by the local WMC it provides for labor-management committees in each factory, headed by an area labor-management committee, charged with controlling turnover through the issuance of availability certificates, and with improving the utilization of labor in the plant. In this latter feature the plan is unique in the country. However, this feature has yet to be put into operation because of an alleged lack of administrative outline of procedure and the personnel to operate it. Labor claims that the outline and personnel are now available.

The crux of the California manpower situation is this: 150,000 to 200,000 new workers are needed immediately. Of these an estimated 100,000 are needed in the San Francisco Bay area. These workers must be secured if production is to be maintained and increased to meet military demands. On the West Coast, California figures as the crucial state. In California, the Bay area, containing the vital war producing cities of San Francisco, South San Francisco, Oakland, Alameda, Berkeley, Richmond, Sausalito, and Vallejo, is the crucial area. This is reflected in the order of the WMC of Nov. 14, 1943, freezing all hiring, except of previously unemployed women, in the area named and a few adjacent counties.

The greater part of new labor must be women. Twenty-six and eight-tenths percent of the state's total labor force in essential industry is composed of women, an increase from 16.4 percent at the beginning of the year. The totals have grown, in aircraft and shipbuilding, from 600 women in January 1941, to 129,200 in July 1943; in all industry, from 45,600 in January 1941, to 237,000 in July 1943. In one durable goods industry, electrical machinery and equipment, women formed 51.2 percent of the labor force in August 1943.

The increase in the employment of women must be accelerated. This can only be accomplished by an overall program of education and recruitment (for some of the old bias against women working still remains), increased child care, restaurant, laundry, shopping, transportation, and other personal service facilities. Increased wages and better working conditions in personal service industries are indispensable auxiliaries of the program.

Turnover figures should serve to warn that there is more to recruitment than the signature on the hire-in ticket. In shipbuilding the turnover rates have run as high as twenty-five percent in some plants, in aircraft, as high as fifteen percent. For all industries in the Bay area the rate increased from 10.7 percent in July to 12.0 percent in August 1943. Seventy-four percent of all separations in the Bay area in August 1943, were quits. Figures already quoted show that the rate of quits was higher for women than men. These are the results of inadequate planning.

ANOTHER source of manpoyer is racial minorities, especially Negroes — the same Negroes Mayor Bowron of Los Angeles would bar from entering. Although the employment of minorities in vital industries (aircraft, shipbuilding, iron and steel, and transportation) has more than doubled since 1942, discrimination against their employment continues in subtle ways. President Roosevelt's reaffirmation of his executive orders on discrimination and the presence of an FEPC investigating committee on the West Coast, added to a growing public realization of the vital role of Negroes in our society, have given discriminatory companies check. Quietly, however, a few offenders carry on their practices. The United States Employment Service, which works closely with WMC, is accused of being equivocal in its policy toward Negroes and even of assisting employers to evade the hiring of Negroes. In a great many instances in California labor unions Negroes are either hired on union permit cards which give them no membership rights, or are allowed to join but are placed in auxiliaries where they have no vote on union policy and sometimes have no control over their own funds. The AFL unions are the worst offenders on this count.

Equally serious is the refusal to upgrade Negroes on the basis of skills and experi-

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ence. In at least one shipbuilding plant Negroes have been used to train neophyte white gang bosses but are not themselves upgraded. Discrimination thus deprives the war effort of needed and qualified leadership.

Another source of manpower lies in increased utilization of labor already employed. The CIO has recommended a program which deserves serious consideration. It provides for compulsory labor-management committees in plants with war contracts. These committees would be charged with the definite responsibility of increasing production and would be assigned industrial engineers as consultants. Area committees would be set up for the pooling and exchange of information. Labor representatives would sit on advisory and administrative branches of the War Production Board.

That labor-management committees pay dividends is illustrated by figures for the Richmond shipyards. Even here the labor-management committees have never functioned completely. Nevertheless results have been obtained which are largely traceable to worker-inspired effort: inventions for which the Maritime Commission has presented awards, "Second Front" committees to increase production, "fifteen minute ship" committees to inspire time-saving efforts ("fifteen minutes every day"), etc. In September 1943, average time from keel-laying to delivery for Liberty ships was 41.2 days for all yards. For Richmond it was 31.4 days. In September 1943, twenty-six ships were launched with a man-hour expenditure per ship of roughly sixty-nine percent less than two years ago.

STILL another possibility for greater labor utilization is incentive pay. The CIO has made careful study of incentive pay plans. It recommends their study and use by member unions, as long as proper safeguards are provided for labor's hard won rights. In one plant in California where incentive pay was introduced production has gone up fifty to seventy-five units per hour above normal, wages have increased eighteen and twenty percent, and turnover has decreased from thirty-six percent to six percent.

The relation of morale to production is undisputed. The turnover figures quoted indicate a dangerous state of morale. Job freezing will halt the turnover but will not correct the conditions which gave rise to quitting. Morale is a product of a number of conditions inside and outside of the factory. Many of these conditions have already been discussed. Within the plants a great deal can be done in the way of education in the meaning of the war and the relation of the worker to the war, in providing efficient first aid and safety programs, in establishing recreational programs, and in assuring proper feeding facilities.

All methods of recruiting manpower and increasing production must be studied. The battle of production must involve every member of society, must make use of every resource and anticipate obstacles before they arise. The extent and kind of operations of our armies in the field rests largely on the extent of production at home. We on the home front have the solemn obligation to our fighting forces to win the battle of production.

DONALD LAW.

SLINGS AND ARROWS

Johannes Steele's brother was put in a concentration camp by the Nazis when they entered Holland, and was killed. Increasing pressure is being brought by reactionaries and lose-the-war elements against Steele's broadcasts because of their outspoken anti-fascist tone.

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This story is told in the Anna Freud-Dorothy Burlingham reports of the Foster Parents Plan for War Children. A bombed out four-year-old in England, whose small life had been spent in the war nursery, first saw the moon one morning from her nursery window. "Has she been up there all night?" she asked. When told yes, the little girl remarked, "I see, night duty."

•

Some of the money used by the Polish fascists in their present high-powered anti-Soviet campaign is from lend-lease funds given by the American government to the Polish government-in-exile.

•

High dignitaries of the Catholic hierarchy have met with German refugee professors and teachers in this country to offer them posts in European Universities after the war, IF. . . . And reactionary elements in the State Department are hunting around furiously for the German Badoglio-in-exile.

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Haakon Chevalier, translator of Louis Aragon and Andre Malraux, also translated Dali's "Private Life" and is at work on a translation of his new novel. He has our sympathy.

•

As cattle, horses, and goats are returned to the villages from which they were evacuated in Russia they are watched and cared for by women collective farmers. There is a story of one peasant woman who put her coat around such a returned calf despite the fact that she herself was freezing. So well has the return of livestock to liberated areas been planned that there is not a chicken in all the Soviet Union whose whereabouts is not known to the authorities, and whose return route has not been planned to the tiniest detail.

•

Not all the Nazi war prisoners in the United States are Nazis at heart. A few have written letters to people they knew to be sympathetic, such as Mrs. Kurt Rosenfeld and Dr. Felix Boehnheim of the "German-American," and informed them that there are "many anti-Nazis" in the camps. They have also asked for anti-Nazi literature and "good German books," saying they were "starving for German literature."

•

A new bust of Lenin was recently unveiled in London to take the place of the one destroyed by Mosley's fascists.

•

Just after Herbert Morrison's statement in the House of Commons on the Mosley affair, a hot supporter of Mr. Morrison was shown by an indignant member the published extracts from the newspaper of the Eighth Army in Italy, indicating the bitterness and anger of Eighth Army men against the release of Mosley. Morrison's supporter gazed at these reports through trembling spectacles. Finally, he remarked, "Ah, yes, but you must not pay too much attention to what these men in the Army say—you know they are notoriously, wildly anti-fascist."

PARTISAN.

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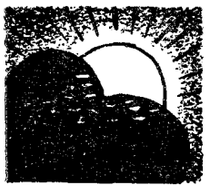
NM SPOTLIGHT

Tito's Army



JOURNALISM has its shining moments, but rarely has it been more brilliant than in Cyrus Sulzberger's report on Tito's intrepid army. His story published in the New York *Times* is infused with tragedy and the sense of the heroic. His picture of thousands of men and women—ragged, hungry, unarmed—growing into a unified power deserves the comparison he makes with our own Valley Forge. And the picture's final impact is that of the mighty truth itself. For at last we have under the most respectable auspices a brief history of Yugoslav resistance that should destroy the Mikhailovich myth and give us every reason to recognize officially the new provisional government.

We cannot help recalling that when NEW MASSES and the *Daily Worker* month after month published the truth about the Liberation Army, that truth was ridiculed as Communist invention. When both the *Worker* and this magazine refuted the wholesale fabrications of Peter's many governments, these refutations were dismissed as thin concoctions mixed in back rooms. That has happened too often with other causes which NEW MASSES has championed and if we take some satisfaction in having publicly pioneered the cause of Yugoslavia's liberators it is only because we feel that we have lived up to our responsibilities in telling the truth even when it was highly unpopular. We can only deplore the fact that other newspapers and periodicals were so blind that they continued repeating a glaring falsehood in the face of information available merely for the asking.

While Sulzberger's story has done much to cut the underpinnings of anti-Tito circles, the prejudice and bitterness continues to linger. His dispatch, for example, has not made the least impression on the editors of the *Times*. Not only are they in perpetual conflict with their correspondents abroad but their contempt for the truth is worthy only of completely irrational minds. The editorial commenting on Sulzberger's dispatch is a grievous and pompous piece of rhetoric designed to allay any effect on public opinion which the Sulzberger story is certain to have.

The *Times*, for example, mourns over the civil strife that accompanied the development of Yugoslav resistance. Who started the strife and who continues it to this day is made amply clear by Sulzberger. He tells how Tito twice visited Mikhailovich proposing a joint command. He tells how Mikhailovich broke his promise and attacked Partisan strongholds. Yet the *Times* holds Tito responsible for "gruesome massacres"—massacres perpetrated by the Chetniks with Mikhailovich's consent and Nazi agreement. If the *Times* has doubts about its reporter's veracity it might have checked the facts about Chetnik atrocities by consulting its own columns where it recently reported Gen. Sir Henry Wilson's order that Mikhailovich's men cease their operations against the Partisans. But the *Times* generals seem to know better and cannot abide the truth even when it is available in their own news pages. They even repeat the nonsense that Mikhailovich has 250,000 men ready to act when the Allies invade. That figure is of course entirely without foundation and they must know it to be so for Cyrus Sulzberger himself, in a recent issue of the Sunday *Times* magazine section (December 5) estimated the number of Mikhailovich men to range between 6,000 and 20,000. The whole *Times* editorial is replete with violations of the most elementary ethics of journalism. And its suggestion that the Allies temporarily cooperate with Tito, use his men, and then cast him aside is of a piece with those ethics.

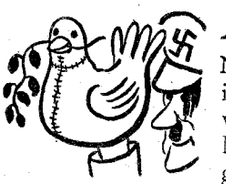
Fortunately for us and for the success of the war there are men who are willing to face realities, men who will not play the *Times*' game of infantile politics. Tito has won the respect of these men, particularly the military figures among them. They are amazed that with the equipment available to him he has been able to organize a force in Europe second in effectiveness to that of the Red Army; that he is now holding and beating back more Nazis than are both the Eighth and Fifth Armies in Italy. The world is also beginning to recognize that the source of Tito's strength comes from the political democracy on which the new government rests—a government comprised of the representatives of all political faiths, a unified entity in which Communist and non-Communist work together. No greater Serb chauvinists are countenanced; all peoples are treated equally. The spirit of democracy that prevails in new-born Yugoslavia is entirely alien to the mean and evil men around Peter in Cairo. And their hysterical attacks on Tito's governments are a measure of their feeling about the privileged positions they have lost. In Tito's government we have a valiant ally, loyal and courageous. We can do no less than give it the official recognition it has earned at the cost of so many lives lost in battle.

Holiday Memo

As you know Congress has adjourned for the holidays. Our lawmakers have returned to their hearths and are quite eager, as many of them said, to meet their constituents. They want to know how you feel about things. We believe that it would be something short of holiday neighborliness to leave them in the dark.

We suspect that our legislators have an uneasy hunch how the country feels about their august deliberations on two major issues: i.e. the Soldiers' Vote Bill, and the subsidy program. We suggest you underscore that hunch which led them to postpone final action on subsidies by extending the program until February 17. We suggest too that you corroborate their suspicion that that explosion they heard on the Soldiers' Vote Bill was no mere ringing in the ears, but that it was the clamor of fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, of the eleven millions in the army who want the armed forces to enjoy the franchise. If you pay your congressman a visit or drop him a line you should have not only an enjoyable holiday season, but a profitable one.

Hitler's Doves



AT 15 EAST FORTIETH STREET, New York City, there is an office with the words "Peace Now Movement" on the glass door. Out of this office has begun to flow a variety of letters, leaflets, and pamphlets, urging an immediate negotiated peace with Nazi Germany and fascist Japan. Recently members of Congress have been flooded with this literature. "We do not think," states a letter addressed to congressmen, "that the defense and safety of America require an attempt to invade and conquer either Germany or Japan."

Much of the material issued by Peace Now is in a traditionally pacifist vein. Undoubtedly there are sincere people in the movement. But there is nothing innocent about its organizers and manipulators.

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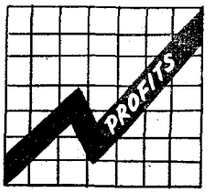
The chairman of the Peace Now movement is Prof. George W. Hartmann of Teachers College, Columbia, now a visiting lecturer at Harvard. Hartmann was the Socialist candidate for mayor of New York in 1941 and was at one time a leader of the Red-baiting forces in the Teachers' Union. He is the author of a pamphlet entitled *A Plea for an Immediate Peace by Negotiation* which is being distributed by Peace Now. In this pamphlet he writes: "Are we so sure that Hitler is opposed to vocational guidance? That Mussolini is against sanitation? Or Hirohito hostile to public schools? Or all of them combined antagonistic to the idea of a decent diet for everybody?" As in the case of Norman Thomas, who is also identified with Peace Now, Hartmann's apologia for Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito is the obverse of his unyielding hatred for the Soviet Union, for the coalition policy of President Roosevelt, for democratic movements everywhere. Hartman is also closely associated with Frederick J. Libby, head of the National Council for the Prevention of War, which for years has been a funnel for defeatist propaganda, much of it coming directly from Axis sources. At a recent negotiated peace conference in Philadelphia held by the Libby outfit Norman Thomas and Mrs. Robert Taft, wife of the senator, were featured speakers.

Clearly, what Peace Now is packaging under a Socialist and pacifist label is incitement to sedition and treason. There is nothing to prevent this literature from falling into the hands of members of the armed forces or from undermining the morale of the civilian population at a time when the home front greatly needs strengthening. Isn't this a matter for the Department of Justice to look into?

A Second Look at Profits



THERE is nothing so very difficult about the idea hidden behind the forbidding label "renegotiation." The word implies no more than the revision of terms and prices of war contracts in the light of past experience. A great many of these contracts were awarded to corporations during the dangerous days following Pearl Harbor; neither the government nor the corporations had any idea what final costs on certain products would be—there had been no experience producing them and no time for haggling. In April 1942 Congress passed the War Contracts Renegotiation Act to enable government agencies to examine books and costs, and, where charges have been excessive, to redetermine what fair price should be paid the corporations for their products. Under Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson recently estimated that in 13,000 renegotiation cases the government had saved $5,300,000,000.

The spectacle of the New York *Times'* Arthur Krock, always a respected sounding board for big business, admitting that without renegotiation some corporations might conceivably gain such huge profits that members of the armed forces might be outraged and, worse yet, "radicalized" when they return home after the war, provides an inkling of how excessive some of the charges are.

The Senate Finance Committee, under the leadership of its chairman, Senator George, is now attempting to amend the law in order to ban renegotiation in all but a relatively small number of cases. It must be remembered that renegotiation is not designed to take profits away, but merely to prevent a profiteering orgy such as this country has never seen.

The labor movement has given its support to the administration's program of taxing profits and of limiting the corporations' take within the bounds of reason. So far, however, labor has not gone to the Senate Finance Committee to insist that the committeemen stop tampering with renegotiation provisions. Nor have the people's organizations appeared to state their views. True, the Committee has attempted to pose the question of renegotiation as bewilderingly recondite and far removed from the understanding of ordinary mortals. But the people's stake in renegotiation is obvious once the double talk is ignored. Its weakening will place an even greater tax burden upon the public in the postwar period. Renegotiation is another weapon against inflation. With profits after taxes already at record-breaking heights, the spectacle of so-called representatives of the people attempting to swell them still further is a moral affront to the very meaning of this war.

The Fascist Cop

IMAGINE the temper of your neighborhood if the policeman on your street corner showed up for duty every day with a swastika in his lapel! Well, Patrolman James L. Drew, of Brooklyn, doesn't have the temerity to wear his fascism on his sleeve but proof is irrefutable that he associated with indicted seditionists and used his home as a warehouse for Goebbelsian anti-Semitic literature. Hence the consternation in New York when Police Commissioner Lewis J. Valentine exonerated the patrolman of serious charges drawn up against him by Dean Ignatius M. Wilkinson, city Corporation Counsel. Dean Wilkinson concluded that Drew "should be found guilty and dismissed from the service." Millions in New York feel the same way and they

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demand that the mayor himself act upon the case, immediately and decisively.

Commissioner of Investigation William B. Herlands was well within reason when he issued a bitter denunciation of the whitewash and termed the decision "a major defeat on the home front." Rep. Emanuel Celler said hotly, "Commissioner Valentine's action in whitewashing him [Drew] will not wash." Mr. Celler, too, demanded that the mayor act; and the mayor has indicated that he will soon issue a statement on the case.

The issue is so transparently clear that millions of patriots are simply flabbergasted at Valentine's finding. It brings disrepute to the entire police force of New York, and upon those to whom it is responsible. Obviously, terrific pressure must have been exerted to keep Drew on the force; the fine hand of the Christian Front is somewhere in the picture.

Evidently Father Knickerbocker has some housecleaning to do. What can our soldiers think, as they move into battle, knowing that fascism, gun in holster, nightstick in hand, patrols the streets of their home bailiwicks? Our city fathers must realize that we cannot keep faith with our heroes while we keep Fascist Drew on our police force.

Child Care

THE War Manpower Commission has announced that 3,000,000 additional women are required for war work to replace drafted men and meet our production needs. The problem is more than one of recruiting women for industry; it is also one of keeping them at the job. It is startling to learn that for every ten women entering the labor market, eight are leaving. This can be attributed to a variety of causes, but undoubtedly a major factor is the lack of adequate child care facilities.

Just the other day the House of Representatives showed its appreciation of the problem by voting to kill a $50,000,000 appropriation for community schools and nurseries under the Lanham Act. Though it is estimated that more than 700,000 children require care in the 108 cities in which the WMC is conducting recruiting campaigns among women, there were in June of this year only some 980 projects, caring for 11,000 children, functioning with Lanham Act funds. Though this number has since increased, it has not kept pace with the need. And there are many cities, among them New York, which have been ruled ineligible for Lanham Act funds for this purpose because they have not been designated by the WMC as labor shortage centers requiring the employment of

(*Continued on page* 11)

Steel and Railroad Crises

TWO serious labor crises have cast their shadows over the home front in the past few days—at the very moment when preparations for the decisive western assault on Europe have been speeded up with the appointment of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower as commander-in-chief of the Anglo-American invasion forces. The threat of a tieup of the nation's railroads and the spontaneous walkout of tens of thousands of steel workers over the past weekend are hardly the kind of New Year's greetings that will hasten victory in 1944.

President Roosevelt is to be congratulated for his prompt action in taking over the railroads and issuing his statement on retroactive pay to the steel workers which caused the War Labor Board to reverse its original position. dent A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Trainmen, and President Alvanley Johnston of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who have cooperated with the President in preventing disastrous paralysis of the country's steel industry and transportation system. But the mere fact that in both the rail and the steel situations President Roosevelt had to intervene, going over the heads of agencies and individuals whose job it is to prevent precisely such disturbances, is evidence that something is wrong.

Who is to blame? Certain newspapers automatically give the answer they have been giving for years: "Labor." But when it is remembered that the railroad crisis involves the unions which are generally described as the most conservative in the country, and that the steel crisis involves the union which is headed by the foremost advocate of the no-strike pledge in the labor movement, Philip Murray, it becomes clear that this answer is considerably off the beam.

The fact is that the railroad dispute has been so badly bungled by the agencies charged with settling it, particularly by Director of Economic Stabilization Fred M. Vinson, that Axis agents could not have dreamed up a nastier mess. He has played Horatio defending the bridge to certain disaster, acting with the most provocative arrogance toward key war workers who, unlike workers in other industries, have had no wage increase during the war period to meet the rising living costs, are not paid time and a half for overtime, and suffer from other disabilities that belong to an archaic period of labor relations.

In the case of the steel workers, the lion's share of the blame goes to the majority of the War Labor Board, particularly the public members, who seem to have confused their role with that of the industry members. Steel union contracts with 214 companies expired December 24 and an even greater number will terminate January 3. The union, which is seeking a seventeen-cents-an-hour increase, a guaranteed annual wage, and other improvements, proposed that in order to keep production moving uninterrupted, the old contracts be continued, pending new agreements, and any wage increase be retroactive to the date of the expiration of the old contracts. This is standard practice and was accepted by the WLB in the coal mine dispute and in many other cases. In the steel case, however, the public members insisted on making retroactivity conditional on wage adjustments being within the existing wage stabilization policy (that is, the Little Steel formula)—a condition which would tie the union's hands in advance of negotiations.

This points up the root of the evil in both the rail and steel disputes: the attempt to keep wages rigid while all other factors in the economy remain unstabilized. The Little Steel formula was supposed to have been part of an original seven-point economic program; instead, as a result of congressional sabotage, all the other elements have been treated most flexibly (in fact, far too flexibly), while the Little Steel formula has been made into an arbitrary dictator, ruling the men appointed to administer it and overriding national interest and common sense. The President, by stepping into the rail and steel crises and by his arbitration award to the locomotive engineers and railroad trainmen, which in effect set aside the Vinson award, has injected common sense into the situation and made the national interest paramount. This is, however, emergency action; more fundamental measures to restore the balance in our economy are urgently needed.

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NAZI BRIDGEHEAD: '44

By Frederick V. Field

THE coup which overthrew General Peneranda's government in favor of a Nazi-oriented clique in Bolivia has serious international implications. The personalities involved and the mode of their action indicates perilously close ties with the Ramirez government of Argentina, and hence with the Axis. If consolidated, it will mean that a fascist knife has been successfully thrust deep into South America; Argentina, the fascist state of Paraguay, and now Bolivia are affected. This trio of states is dangerously close to Chile—as well as Brazil whose democratic tendencies are manifested exclusively in what may be termed an opportunistic alliance with the United Nations. The small nation of Uruguay is staunchly democratic, but lying as it does between the two South American giants, Argentina and Brazil, constant fear prevails that it cannot successfully resist a putsch by its native brand of fascists, the Herreristas, if they are given sufficient encouragement by the neighboring dictatorships. The point of the fascist knife, moreover, probes toward the economically backward, poverty-stricken countries of Peru and Ecuador.

The accomplishment of the fascist fifth column in the western hemisphere is already substantial. We face today not only the deep Nazi wedge which has been described, but we face the grave danger of its further penetration and expansion. What in the spring, at the time of the Argentine coup, was a Hitler bridgehead on this side of the Atlantic, has now become a potentially powerful base of operation. Tentacles of the Nazi octopus reach into every nation of the hemisphere, not excluding our own. The Falange, or its Mexican equivalent, the Sinarquists, have nowhere been destroyed. Indeed reports reach us that in New York City itself agents of the Falange display a degree of boldness considered impossible a year ago. All such direct agents of the Axis are, however, political small fry in comparison to the enemy work done by native defeatists, and pro-fascists in each of this hemisphere's nations. Our Senator Butlers, our Mgr. Sheens, our *Reader's Digest*, our instigators of riots—all find their counterpart in every single country of Latin America. So that while the fascist accomplishment on this side of the Atlantic is already great, its potentialities are even more dangerous.

NEITHER our government nor our people dare remain complacent in face of these events and their augury. The Good Neighbor policy has evidently not been endowed with the guts necessary to assure democratic security within the hemisphere. A decided advance over the crude imperialism of preceding decades, it has unquestionably cleared away a lot of rubbish from the pathway of democracy. But the job of giving unqualified support to the forces of democracy is scarcely begun.

The fault, however, lies only partly with the weakness of our government policy. Our people, particularly our democratic organizations, have been woefully slow to appreciate the importance of hemisphere solidarity. While the efforts of the CIO to establish fraternal contact with Latin American labor are praiseworthy, they have been hesitant and minute in comparison to the necessity. A few individual unions have made direct contact with their counterparts in certain Latin countries, but here again the effort has been sporadic. The AFL leadership have deliberately snubbed their brothers below the Rio Grande. And so if criticism be made of the government that it relies for its hemisphere contacts mainly upon certain esoteric individuals many of whom do not understand, let alone feel, democracy, we must also blame ourselves for letting the matter go by default.

The sacrifices which the people of Latin America have made on behalf of the war against the Axis are not generally known or appreciated. Simply because Mexican or Cuban or Colombian divisions of troops have not appeared on the battlefields, one cannot assume that their governments and their peoples are merely giving lip service to the war. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The war hit the workers and farmers of Latin America hard; they fought back with whatever instruments they possessed. They were badly off economically before the war; their hardship has increased several fold during the course of the war. The workers have pledged themselves to increase production for the United Nations. And they have succeeded. But severe inflationary tendencies have been apparent throughout the southern continent. Prices have soared, hoarders and profiteers have grown fat, food has often become scarce, real wages have dropped alarmingly.

Given the sad background of Yankee imperialism, the economic poverty of the masses accentuated by the war has proved fertile ground for the propaganda of Hitler's fifth column. They have been able to seize upon these economic difficulties to sow the seeds of dissension, of disunity. At the very time when the United States was abandoning the big stick of dollar diplomacy and when the Good Neighbor policy, in spite of its defects, was striving for democratic unity, the fascists and their agents demagogically raised the false banner of anti-imperialism.

IN THEIR struggle to help the United Nations defeat fascism, the plain people of Latin America have thus been faced with two powerful enemies: increasing poverty and political disrupters exploiting their economic condition. The heroic fight that organized labor and other progressive forces in Latin America have waged under these circumstances is proof that they constitute our most powerful and able allies in the hemisphere. Throughout Latin America it has been organized labor that has carried democracy's banner. Organized workers have been chiefly responsible for that degree of internal and external unity that has been achieved. They have been the chief protagonists for price control, for war economy. They have fought for and achieved increased production for the war. They have been the leaders in the fight to expose and exterminate the fifth column.

Yet these people—the masses of Latin American workers—have been ignored by the agencies charged with implementing the Good Neighbor policy. These are the people who, it is not an exaggeration to say, have been damned by the faint praise and condescension of the people of the United States. The organized workers of Bolivia represented the heart and democratic strength of that country, not the detested General Peneranda, the tool of the tin barons. The organized workers of Argentina represent the real interests of the United Nations and of hemisphere unity, not the degenerate government of Ramirez which we were so hasty as to stabilize through recognition. We have no greater ally this side of the Atlantic than the CTAL, the 4,000,000-strong Federation of Latin American Workers, and its great leader, Lombardo Toledano. Until we, as a government and as a people, recognize this and act upon it we shall be defeating the purposes of the Good Neighbor policy. Until we begin to lay the basis of hemisphere unity from the ground up, instead of from the clouds down, we shall be crippling our war effort in our own home grounds.

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(*Continued from page 9*)

mothers. Yet the fact is that in these cities too many mothers must take war jobs for economic reasons, particularly if their husbands are in the armed forces.

It is time the country squarely faced the price it is paying for its neglect of the problem of child care, a price computed in lowered war production, excessive economic hardships and rising juvenile delinquency. It is not a question of ideally perfect solutions, but of constructive measures that will do more than nibble at the problem. We can learn much from both the British and the Russians in this respect. An alert public opinion and efforts by organized labor can compel reversal of the House ban on the new Lanham Act appropriation, can win favorable action on the Senate Thomas bill, which would provide nursery care and foster day-care for children of all ages, and can bring about better coordination of federal, state, municipal and private welfare activities in this field.

AROUND THE WORLD

WORLD CURRENCY HEADACHE

Moscow (via Inter-Continent News).

OF SPECIAL interest among postwar economic problems is the question of currency stabilization. Undoubtedly there is the danger of a general devaluation of currencies as was the case after the first world war. And at the present time it is quite clear that when the war is over, European countries, first and foremost, are threatened with new currency devaluation. Huge sums consisting of bank and savings bank deposits have accumulated in all countries in the course of the conflict. Apart from internal sources of inflation—accumulated purchasing power—there are also external sources of inflation having their origin in foreign trade. The export capacity of European countries will be extremely insignificant because of economic destruction and the necessity of satisfying home needs. Consequently the countries of Europe will have an adverse trade balance. A situation of this kind is bound to arise when peace comes unless timely measures are taken to prevent or allay the threatened devaluation of money.

This problem has been the subject of lively discussion and a number of schemes have been advanced most important of which is the one drafted by the well-known British economist, John Maynard Keynes. He proposes the establishment of an international clearing union. Another plan is the one formulated by Harry White, of the United States Treasury Department. He calls for the creation of a huge currency stabilization fund and international bank. Both projects are directed towards one and the same aim. Nevertheless they call for quite different methods and means of implementation. One of them would obviate the other. There are also some schemes representing compromises.

The Keynes plan takes into account the special position of Britain. Before the war the City occupied the role of international banker—the prerequisites of this role being the stability of the British pound and the free circulation of gold which in turn necessitated a favorable balance of payments and the presence of adequate gold reserves to cover temporary adverse balances.

The war and its consequences have destroyed these conditions. Britain's balance of payments is in danger of becoming an adverse one in the postwar period. And apart from this almost the whole of Britain's gold reserve has been transferred to the United States while in the course of the war the British colonies have accumulated considerable sums in sterling in London. From this it follows that Britain cannot count on preserving her role of international banker during the postwar period by the means she used before the war. Implementing the Keynes plan would undoubtedly help Britain recover this role in the postwar period although stabilizing currencies on an international scale could never be secured by means of the creation of an international clearing union. Such a union could to a certain extent soften or postpone foreign devaluation but could not eliminate it.

THE Keynes plan alone cannot secure currency stability. Only on condition of continued government restriction of individual consumption and investments, with strict control of foreign trade and also with extensive export of capital from the rich countries to countries ruined by the war, could the aims of the Keynes plan for currency stabilization be achieved. But the employment of all these means—which incidentally are hardly possible to realize in peacetime under the existing social system inasmuch as it runs contrary to the selfish interests of influential circles—could secure a stable currency in each country also without an international clearing system.

The White plan was submitted to the Senate in April 1943, by Henry Morgenthau, the Secretary of the Treasury. The idea of this plan consists in the mobilization for international financial turnover of the huge gold stocks in the United States which find no use at the present time. The idea of the White plan is the creation in the first place of a five billion dollar currency fund as the basis for stabilization. This fund is to be formed of shares payable by all member states. There is no doubt that the currency fund planned by White could become a substantial factor in world economy and secure currency stabilization more effectively than the clearing union proposed by Keynes. The leading position envisoned for the United States by the White plan rests not only on the anticipation of the United Sates being the dominant partner in the currency fund, as the British press stresses, but also on the anticipated participation of the countries in Central and South America which are under the strong economic and political influence of the United States.

In addition, the White stabilization plan also provides for the organization of a bank for reconstruction and development of the United Nations and nations joining them. The bank's capital of ten billion dollars can be formed by member states in the same way as the capital of the currency fund. Undoubtedly the planned bank with its colossal capital of ten billion dollars, together with the currency fund which pursues an identical aim, would represent tremendous economic power. But because of this there is considerable opposition to this plan outside as well as inside the United States. It is as yet far from clear whether the White plan in its present form can count on success even in the United States. For fully understandable reasons even stronger objection to the White plan has been raised in Britain. Efforts to draw up something in the nature of a compromise between the Keynes and White plans have hitherto brought no results. And indeed a compromise between the two plans is hardly possible since Keynes is trying to solve the problem of stabilizing currency by eliminating gold, and White on the basis of gold. Moreover, both these plans correspond to the special economic interests of their respective countries.

NATURALLY, Soviet public opinion cannot but be interested in the economic plans for postwar reconstruction discussed in the countries of its allies. The special character of the Soviet economic system de-

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termines its attitude toward the question of the stabilization of currencies. As a state engaged in foreign trade, just as Britain or the United States, it is interested in the stability of currencies of the countries with whom it is trading and in preventing currency speculations in other countries from interfering with the normal course of foreign trade.

IF ALL the Soviet Union's trade with the rest of the world could be conducted on a basis of gold currency with unchanging value, this would undoubtedly render trading operations easier. As regards the Soviet Union's currency it is known that here prices—and consequently also the purchasing power of the ruble—in state trade turnover are fixed by plan. This means that the stability of Soviet currency is secured by methods entirely different from those in other countries. So far as the USSR is concerned this also motivates the possibility of any kind of proposals in the field of economic policy by any future organization be it an international bank or a currency fund. On the other hand, the Soviet Union is undoubtedly interested in beginnings and measures capable of accelerating the restoration of her economy as well as of the economy of other countries devastated by the fascist brigands. This question is of the greatest importance in estimating the various financial plans on the part of the Soviet Union.

EUGENE VARGA.

Professor Varga is a distinguished Soviet economist. The article above is abridged from one which he wrote for a recent issue of the "War and the Working Class."

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

ON THE EVE OF '44

IT HAS been the rather unfortunate habit of certain semi-official government spokesmen to warn the American people of "heavy losses" every time our armed forces were preparing to go into action. A small landing on a small island, involving no more than a battalion, would be prefaced with a stark reminder that there would be many men killed and wounded. Such warnings are an insult to the spirit of the American people, betraying a lack of confidence in the people's ability to "take it."

As a matter of fact, in more than two years of war, losses in our Armed Forces have been only about one-quarter of the *yearly* toll of fatal accidents in the USA during 1929-39—a time when the mobilization of industry and transport for war had not boosted that death toll to new highs. This means that the United States as a whole has really not even begun to feel the personal loss caused by the war. Add to this the fact that not a square foot of continental American soil has been so much as scratched by the enemy. Certainly the American people have enough hard-headed sense to realize that they will have to pay with a fair share of blood before the show is over. And certainly they must be prepared not to expect too cheap and easy a victory—President Roosevelt took occasion to warn of that in his Christmas Eve message to the armed forces. But realism and preparedness are one thing, "scaring" is another. And some of the current speculation about huge casualties can play right into the hands of defeatists.

So-called "polarity," or divergence of interests between enemies, is of paramount importance in any struggle. In practice, it takes the simple form of hatred for the enemy, and hatred is the most powerful stimulus in combat. According to an old Italian custom, when a man challenges his adversary to a fight with daggers, he bites his opponent's ear in order to make him mad. Thus he "primes" the conflict. To put it bluntly, Germany has not bitten America's ear, while the Japanese have. Thus, while there is polarity in the Pacfic struggle, it still is lacking in the European theater. It should be stimulated by showing the American people what the Nazis are doing to other people. And the American people, who are naturally very inclined to raise their mitts in defense of the underdog —*any* underdog, as a matter of fact— would soon develop the necessary polarity. But instead of that we are being "scared" all the time by prediction of losses.

Take for instance, the recent statement by a high ranking official in administration circles that within the next ninety days we would lose three times more than we lost during 750 days of war. Such a statement actually does not mean a thing, because nobody can calculate the losses in battles which have not been joined yet. Instead of warning us of things nobody on earth can foretell, it would be more effective and less insulting to America's martial pride to read over every radio network Ralph Parker's article in the New York *Times* of December 26 on German atrocities in Kharkov. American troops are about to enter into the inferno of Europe like liberating knights in shining armor. They must think of blows to be struck, not received. They must not think "How soon do we go home?" but "How long before we save those unfortunate people of Europe and the world from the German executioners?" In this feeling lies the true polarity between the American people and their enemies.

AGAINST this unfortunate tendency to warn us of future losses in the coming invasion of Europe by Anglo-American forces, we have a number of highly encouraging developments. First, to every war-minded American comes the appointment of General Eisenhower to the supreme command of the invasion forces. To everyone who has followed Eisenhower's activities since Nov. 8, 1942, the appointment is an assurance that the huge operation will be carried out with precision, thoroughness, skill, and—above all—talent. The appointment of the "relentless Scot," General Montgomery, whom some British brass hats have been reported to have dubbed "impossible, but indispensable," is a token of the aggressiveness of the tactics to be applied in the coming invasion. The huge aerial preparation for the invasion will be in the able hands of General Spaatz.

It cannot be said that nothing has been done in reference to the invasion agreed upon at Teheran. There is little doubt that the unprecedented bombing of certain ob-

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jectives in northern and northwestern France is the first round of the coming operation. It has been going on around the clock for three days (at this writing). Heavy bombers instead of medium ones were used. The RAF went over even in daylight. British and American attacks followed each other against the same objectives. A number of propaganda stories have been put out about the objectives of this aerial assault. The Channel coast has been dubbed "the rocket-gun coast." Even "atomic guns" have been attributed to the Germans. All this, of course, is nonsense. The Germans have rocket guns, of course. Why shouldn't they if the Russians have had "Katushas" ever since the battle of Moscow two years ago? But rocket guns may be very good at short range. At long range they cannot be aimed accurately. They may be part of the system of coastal defense, but they are certainly not its mainstay, and the big noise about them looks like so much hooey to us. Something else is being bombed in France by our planes.

In the Mediterranean the Italian campaign has been put back in its proper place: that of a decidedly secondary operation which may remain stalemated for several months to come without seriously affecting the coming big show. The "soft underbelly" nonsense has been exploded and the waters of the Garigliano have carried its remains to the sea.

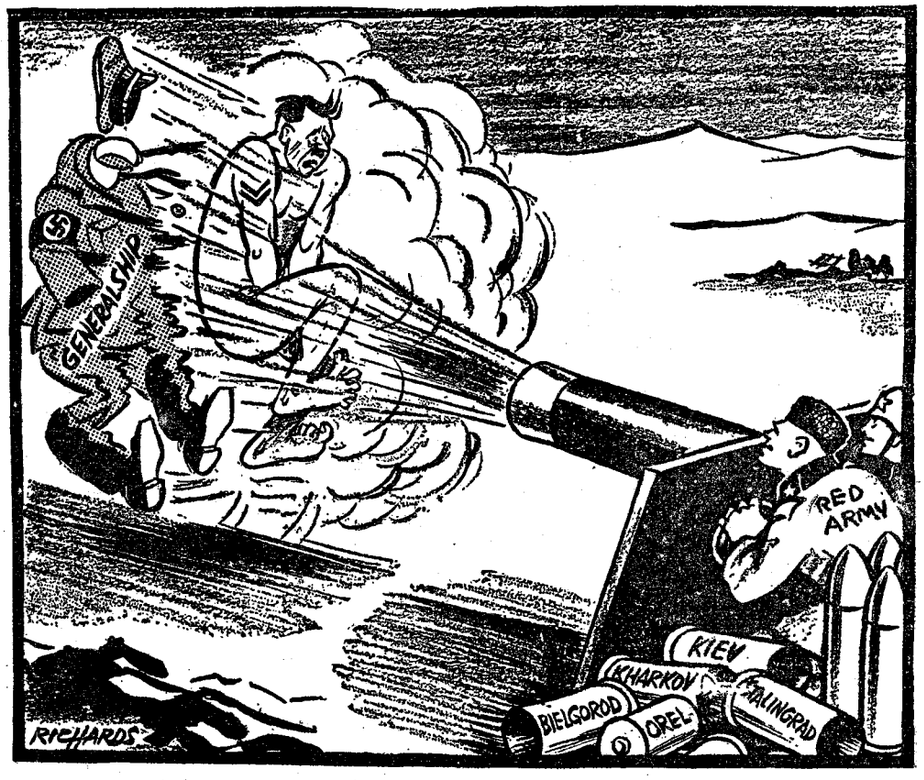
Across the Adriatic the Yugoslav Army of Liberation, on the contrary, has been projected in our belated consciousness in its proper perspective as the biggest land show in Europe outside the Eastern Front. We are now helping Marshal Tito and are reported to have established a supply corridor for his forces who have stalled the sixth German offensive against them, keeping busy more German divisions than Generals Clark and Montgomery combined. It becomes increasingly clear that, especially after the loss of the islands in the Aegean and Turkey's shyness at taking a hand in the war, our only safe bet in the Balkans is the fighting space secured by Marshal Tito's people's war. We are beginning to learn lessons which form no part of the curriculum of the General Staff and Command School or the War College.

AT THE other extremity of our western perimeter, the British Navy has caught up with one of the three German battlewagons, the *Scharnhorst*, which was sunk off North Cape on Christmas day while trying to attack a Murmansk-bound convoy. This is a serious blow to the Germans, especially in view of the coming developments in the Baltic zone of Germany's Eastern Front. There, the second week of the Red Army northern offensive has carried General Bargamyan's troops to within eight miles (December 26) of Vitebsk. The line from Vitebsk to Polotsk has been virtually cut. The line from Vitebsk to Orsha is also practically cut. If tottering Vitebsk falls, the Red Army may drive along the Dvina westward, acting like a huge crowbar, loosening the German grip on the Baltic area. If Dvinsk, only ninety miles west of the western face of the Soviet Nevel salient, is captured, the Germans will not be able to hold the Baltic regions. They won't even be able to evacuate these regions properly. They will be able only to burn and destroy what is left there. They are trying to do this to Leningrad, which is being heavily shelled both by German batteries in the south and Finnish batteries in the north. There can be no other sense to this senseless bombardment of an objective they will never be able to reach. The active part the Finns are taking in this bombardment shows how hopelessly they are tied to the German wagon. Certainly the Finns realize that the Soviet offensive around Vitebsk sooner or later will pry the Germans loose in the Baltic. The Red Army and the Baltic Fleet will control the Gulf of Finland and the warm ports west of its mouth. This will mean that Finland will be severed from Germany. This in turn will mean that the entire Scandinavian edifice of the Wehrmacht will be bound to crumble. And still Finland spits with cannon into the face of the Soviet Union, with whom it will soon remain in an unpleasant *tete-a-tete!* From whom will the Finns expect help then? Senators Wheeler and Nye, Representative Ham Fish, or that great statesman and scholar—Martin Dies himself? A rather forlorn hope, we should say, and without any sound "military basis."

News has just been released that the Red Army has renewed its offensive in the Kiev salient and has broken the German front to a depth of twenty-five miles in a fifty-mile sector. This happened after a great defensive battle of six weeks against the best the Germans could muster to save their right flank. Now another Soviet crowbar is poking again in the direction of the Carpathians, loosening the Ukrainian position of the Germans. However, the very seriousness of the German position on the Eastern Front points up the strength and vitality that is still left in them: it takes an army untouched by demoralization to fight so stubbornly and aggressively when things are going from bad to worse. The Nevel and Kiev salients of the Red Army, together with the Nogai salient at the mouth of the Dnieper, threatening the very existence of the Baltic and Ukrainian *place d'armes* of the Germans, form three huge German bulges—at Leningrad, in Byelorussia, and in the Ukraine. These bulges, especially the first and the third, are dangerously exposed, but it is precisely there that the Germans show the greatest activity and staunchness.

This, above all, gives the lie to that other pernicious propaganda about Germany being "on the verge of internal collapse." It is not, as German operations amply show. But it will be beyond that verge soon after the Teheran decisions are put into effect.

That latter development is the central object of this column's best New Year's wishes to all and sundry.



Exposure London Daily Worker

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BEHIND THE (N. Y.) TIMES

Arthur Hays Sulzberger's paper drops the "not fit to print" motto when it comes to its ancient animus against the USSR. Soviet-baiting a la Strunsky, analyzed by A. B. Magil.

BACK in 1920 Charles Merz and Walter Lippmann, both at that time editors of the *New Republic*, published a survey of the New York *Times'* treatment of the Russian Revolution and of the Soviet Republic. This survey, which has since become a classic, showed that the *Times* overthrew the Soviet government a half dozen times, had Lenin arrested or assassinated every few days and found fit to print sundry other fabrications about the new people's government that had come to power over one-sixth of the globe. A sequel to the Merz-Lippmann survey has been long overdue. Mr. Lippmann is perhaps otherwise engaged, but certainly there is no one better qualified to write on the *Times'* long record of tortuous misrepresentation in all matters affecting the Soviet Union than his former collaborator, Charles Merz: he happens to be the present editor-in-chief of the *Times*.

Fate played two tricks on the *Times:* the Soviet regime, contrary to the *Times'* expectations and hopes, proved to be durable; and the correspondent whom the paper sent to Moscow, Walter Duranty, known to have absorbed at his previous post, Riga, some of the juiciest anti-Soviet prejudices then extant, turned out to be an honest man. There developed thereupon a kind of civil war within the pages of the *Times*, with the editorial columns sniping at the news columns, always, of course, with a pious air. This civil war persists down to this day. Far be it from me to attempt to direct Mr. Merz in the intriguing enterprise of writing a sequel to the earlier expose. But I would strongly urge him not to overlook that editorial (or was it an item in "Topics of the Times"?) some ten or more years ago which "proved" that economic planning in the USSR was a failure because the first Five-Year Plan had exceeded its goals! And I especially commend to his attention the devious distortions, false-starts, about-faces, and plain stupidities of the *Times'* comment on Russia since June 22, 1941.

In all this there is, of course, a serious moral question involved. But let us for the moment overlook this and view the matter in practical terms from the standpoint of those conservative capitalists who look to the *Times* not only for information, but for objective interpretation of events in all parts of the world. Obviously, without such interpretation in regard to both the friends and enemies of America there can be no intelligent formulation of policy. It is not always certain whether the *Times* regards the USSR as friend or foe, but in either case its editorial interpretation of Soviet phenomena is so consistently misleading and so generally permeated with subjective prejudice as to be worthless to those who need it most. This state of affairs reached a point where some months ago it became necessary for one of the foremost leaders of American business, Thomas W. Lamont, to send a long letter to the *Times* politely correcting its "line" on Russia. But what about those capitalists who are less sophisticated than Mr. Lamont, who have led an intellectually sheltered life, who over the course of years have been spoon-fed a predigested diet of anti-Sovietism and now bumble along, trusting to the *Times* to help them understand what's happening? Their plight is pitiable indeed.

AS A typical example of the sort of thing to which unsuspecting capitalists are almost daily exposed (without the benefit in most cases of such an antidote as NEW MASSES), take the editorial in the *Times* of December 22 on the change in the Soviet national anthem. The editorial opens with a general dissertation contrasting the status of propaganda in democracies with its status in totalitarian countries, "where there is only one kind of propaganda, and where all rival propaganda or clash of ideas is ruthlessly suppressed." No names are mentioned, but lest any reader think this refers to Germany or Japan, the first sentence in the next paragraph sets him right. The announcement of the replacement of the *Internationale* (a non-Soviet and pre-Soviet song) with a new national anthem that expresses the present socialist reality of the USSR is cited to illustrate the point. But don't get the impression that the *Times* is in favor of the retention of the *Internationale*. On the contrary, Mr. Sulzberger's paper likes the idea that the Russians are getting a new anthem—likes it for the wrong reasons of course. And the *Times* definitely does not care for the *Internationale*, which it describes as being the song of those poor specimens of humanity who take "their inspiration from the muddled thinking of a German doctor of philosophy named Karl Marx, who combined his typically German and Hegelian ideas of the supremacy of the state with a utopian dream born of his incompetence in dealing with the problems of existence in the London slums."

Uninformed readers may be tempted to think that the obscure German doctor of philosophy here referred to is the same Karl Marx whose book, *Capital*, was once described by Vice-President Wallace as one of the epoch-making works of the nineteenth century. These readers may be led to believe that the above-mentioned muddled thinker is the same Karl Marx who from 1851 to 1862 contributed from London a series of brilliant articles to a leading newspaper of that day, the New York *Daily Tribune*. They may possibly identify the utopian of the *Times* editorial with the Karl Marx whose ideas live at the core of that Soviet system whose military might the Nazis have found anything but utopian. Obviously the *Times* must be referring to a different Karl Marx. For it cannot possibly attribute to its readers the opaque ignorance that would be required to accept at face value such politically illiterate insults to the giant intellect and organizing genius that was *the* Karl Marx.

The dream of that Karl Marx could not, of course, have been born in the slums or even the fashionable residences of London, for he lived in London only as a result of the fact that he had been driven into exile from his native Germany by those who hated his democratic dream—the political ancestors of the present-day Nazis. Like Tom Paine and Abraham Lincoln that Karl Marx pleaded guilty to being a poor man. And a long time ago there was another who had a dream which comfortable gentlemen astutely pointed out was born of incompetence in dealing with the problems of existence in the slums of Galilee.

But we are still only on the periphery of the *Times'* argument. The editorial quotes the Moscow announcement that "the 'Internationale' does not reflect the basic changes that have taken place in our country as a result of the victories of the Soviet system and does not express the socialist content of the Soviet state," and finds that this means the opposite of what it says. The statement speaks of basic changes in the direction of socialism and its consolidation; the *Times* interprets this to mean basic changes in the direction of capitalism. It therefore concludes that "With such a Russia [that is, a Russia going capitalist], we and all nations can cooperate. . . ." In other words, it bases international cooperation not, as do the Moscow and Teheran declarations, on the common interests of all peace-loving states, irrespective of their internal structure, but on the eventual acceptance by Russia of the capitalist system.

What evidence does the *Times* offer that socialism is being liquidated? When the editorial speaks of Russia becoming "patriotic, nationalist," and reviving old traditions, it speaks of changes which have

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been given their present form by the socialist system. But it goes farther. "Its [the USSR's] social structure is changing from the theoretical equality of Communism to a strictly defined and rigidly enforced hierarchical system in the bureaucracy, in the army, even in economic life. It has restored the profit motive by differentiations in pay which exceed the average differentiation between working and management income in this country, and is thereby creating a new money class."

ONE would imagine that those who write about Communist theory would trouble to learn something about it. But in that case what would happen to the *Times* editorial? The social structure of the Soviet Union was never based on "the theoretical equality of Communism," nor was equality of reward for unequal work ever part of Communist theory. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, who though not Communists, spent the time and sweat required to learn something about the Soviet Union and about Marxism, wrote in their monumental *Soviet Communism:*

"At this point we may observe that it is a false assumption, current among the uninstructed, and even among persons who think themselves educated, that the Communist Party in the USSR began its task of building the socialist state upon the basis of identical incomes for all workers by hand and brain, on the ground that all men are born equal, with an inherent right to equal shares in the commodities and services produced by the community in which they live and move and have their being. There has never been any such idea among the Marxists. Quite the contrary, Karl Marx, and after him, Lenin, were always denouncing the conception of an abstract equality between man and man, whether in the newborn babe, or in the adult as molded by circumstances."

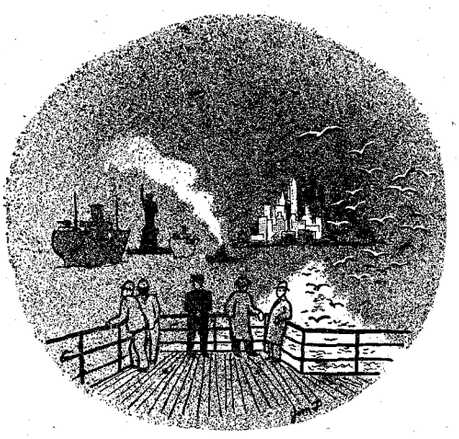
Moreover, inequality of ability results in inequality in the role played in Soviet life by different individuals. But this is the reverse of a hierarchical system under which birth or class or race or other undemocratic considerations, rather than ability, are the determining factors. The remarkable extent to which Soviet citizens enjoy *equality of opportunity* has been noted by many observers. To cite one instance, the youthfulness of Red Army generals (so reminiscent of some of the generals in our own War of Independence) and the fact that they come from the humblest walks of life are evidence of that equality of opportunity, stemming from the abolition of classes, which constantly pours fresh blood into every phase of Soviet life.

As for the charge that differentiations in pay in the Soviet Union "exceed the average differentiation between working and management income in this country," the *Times* is faking and knows it. *There are no statistical data on comparative working and management income in this country.* All statistics lump together wages and salaries and no comparison can therefore be made with the situation in Russia. The gap between the salaries of the presidents of General Motors, US Steel, and other large corporations and the wages of industrial workers is of course very great, but there is no way of learning what the average difference is.

As for the Soviet Union, the latest available figures are for March 1935. In large-scale industry, for example, the average monthly wage of engineering and technical personnel, which includes management, was at that time approximately two and one-third times the average monthly wage of workers. (This figure is derived from the data contained in *Labor in the USSR: A Statistical Reference Book*, issued by the State Planning Commission.) In March 1935, however, the Stakhanov movement had not yet been launched. The spread of Stakhanovism and the general introduction of incentive pay have enabled individual workers to multiply their earnings. This has raised the general average of workers' wages, thus tending to narrow the gap between working and management income. Offhand one would say that the income difference between these two groups is in Russia far less than in any capitalist country, including the United States.

And finally, the cream of the jest: the *Times* is worried that the Soviet regime will move so far to the right that it will "not only turn conservative, but also Bonapartist and imperialist." It is like Iago fearful that Othello will take up the ways of treachery, like Uriah Heep apprehensive lest David Copperfield embrace hypocrisy. This Tartuffian solicitude is touching, to say the least. It is too bad that the *Times* is unable to call on its favorite political Galahads in other lands to help it guard the democratic purity of the Soviet Union: Darlan is dead, Peyrouton is unfortunately indisposed as a result of being arrested for treason, and Mikhailovich is politically a corpse and morally already with Peyrouton.

In all fairness it should be said that the misrepresentations of the *Times* are not directed exclusively at our Russian ally. In the Balkans, France, Spain, and other parts of the world there is no politician too reactionary, no monarch too discredited to be denied the warm attentions of the frumpy and flatulent dowager of Times Square. And let it not be overlooked that the *Times*, whose publisher, Arthur Hays Sulzberger, is a Jew, had the singular distinction of being denounced from the floor at the recent convention of the most representative Jewish body in the United States, the American Jewish Conference. The fact is the *Times* is waging on many fronts a desperate rearguard action against history. And nowadays, especially after Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran, there are quite a lot of rather conservative people who have no wish to be part of that rearguard.



Yet it would be a mistake to say, as I have sometimes heard it said, that the *Times* speaks only for itself. The social physiognomy of a public institution can never be reduced merely to that element which is unique and personal. It may be, for example, that the obsessive and vengeful quality of many of the *Times'* comments on Russia owes something to the fact that the principal spiritual advisers of its chief editorial writer, Henry Hazlitt, are that unholy trinity of professional Red-baiters and Russia-haters: Sidney Hook, Benjamin Stolberg, and Morris Ernst.

Yet basically there is no doubt that the ideas of the *Times* represent the thinking of a section of big business which, though a minority within its own circle, influences many who may not entirely agree with it. The business men for whom the paper speaks suffer from political schizophrenia due to the fact that though they want to win the war, they want to win it in a way that would greatly weaken the Soviet Union, suppress democratic movements in Europe and throughout the colonial world, curb American labor and oust the Roosevelt administration in the 1944 elections. That is a tall order and the fact that it isn't being filled doesn't improve the temper of these people. From time to time the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* makes sturdy efforts to persuade its brethren of the *Times* to shake hands with history and make the best of the world as it is. But the gentlemen of the *Times* are incurable reformers and persist in their utopian attempt to remake the world in the image of Darlan, Mikhailovich, and Simeon Strunsky.

The rest of us ordinary mortals, whose minds have never learned to soar, will have to content ourselves with working, in the words of Karl Marx, "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations." That may be muddled thinking, but, if I am not mistaken, Moscow and Teheran made it very clear.

A. B. MAGIL.

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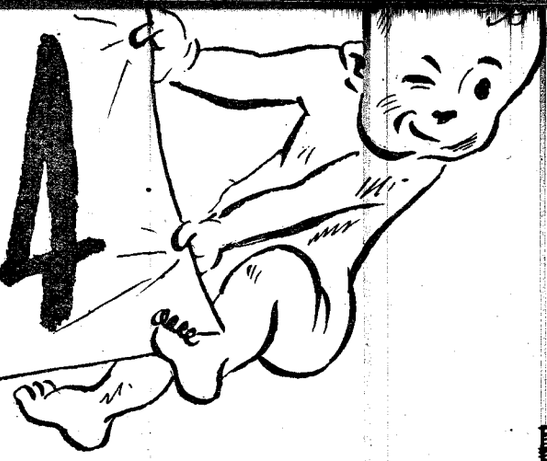
HERE'S TO 1944



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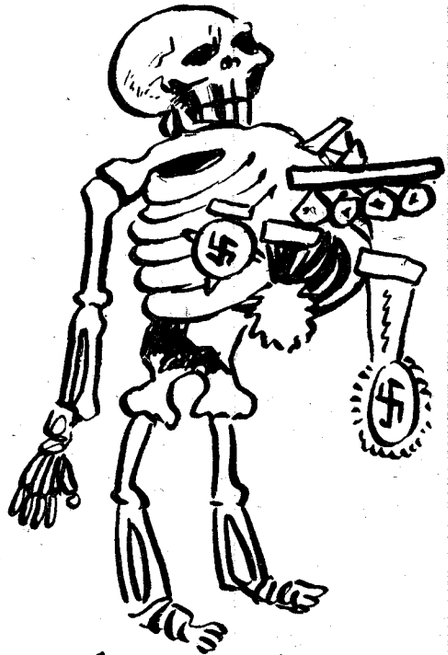

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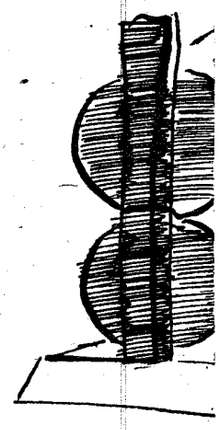

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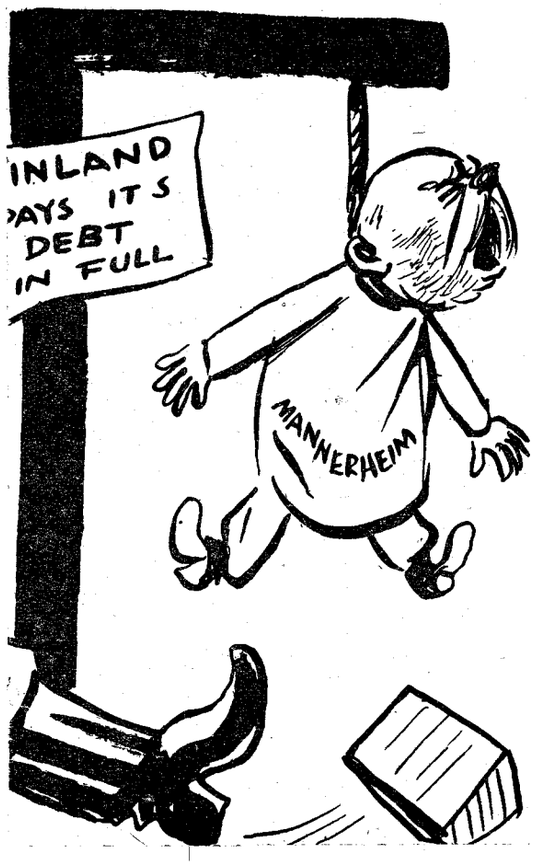

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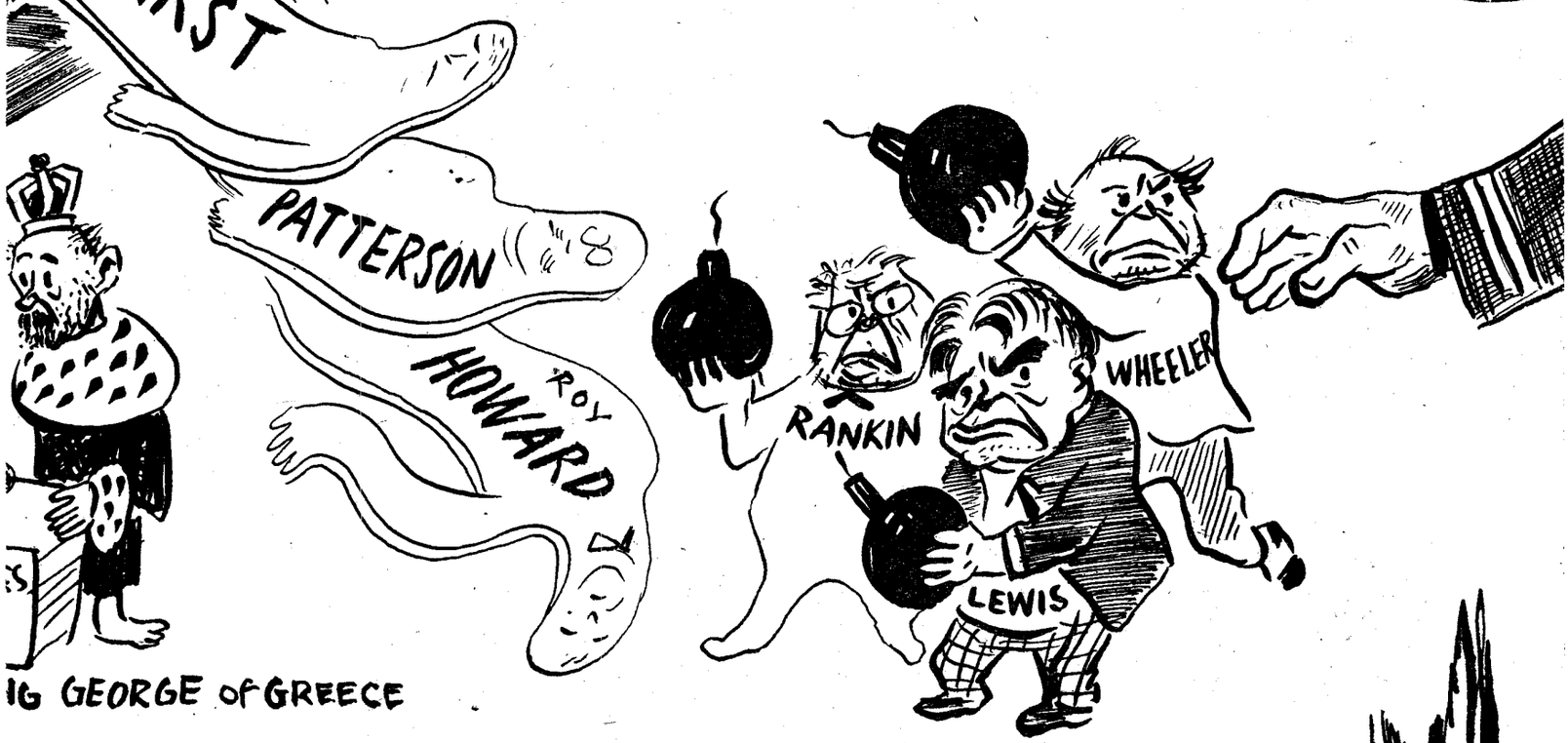

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THOSE FOOTSTEPS WE HEAR

PERHAPS it was the children chortling over the gaily-colored globe which I had brought them as a gift, perhaps it was the re-broadcast of the President's speech which I heard while the kids opened their presents about the Christmas tree, when suddenly, I felt the full grandeur of our time. All day long the radio had carried the confident voices from abroad of our fighting men and women—the boys and girls of the Bronx, of Cleveland, of Columbus, of Macon. They spoke to us, spoke of home, and a few hours before, the President had talked to them in a speech, I felt, that our children will be reciting a decade or so hence when those far away will have long been home.

It was indeed a great speech: great for its recollection of the past and for its forecast of the future. "What a time to live in, to fight in," I thought. The topography of history has its peaks, its Alps and its Himalayas. Such were the years 1492; 1776; 1865; 1917. They tower in our consciousness, define the eras of our destiny. Historians, I thought, will add 1943 to the list of the Grand Years—and, I am certain, 1944. Man has just slogged through a great twelve-month; he is entering into a greater. Climbing the mountain we are prone to lose perspective; but our children will see it as clearly as mine saw the brightness of the globe before them.

Indeed 1943 was a towering year. Our men and those of our Allies waded through the blood that flowed endlessly from Stalingrad to Kiev, passed through the fires that burned from Tunis to Rome, from Guadalcanal to New Guinea. At Teheran and at Cairo, as the President indicated, we came within sight of the Promised Land; the bright vision is within realization—and despite all the cacaphony of the defeatists—it is no mirage. It is real, within distance, within grasp. That was the promise of '43. The grandeur of '44 is the final achievement of that vision.

THE Commander-in-Chief foretold the climax—the epic invasion from the West. That headed the historic agenda at Cairo and at Teheran, which sub-divided into those agreements that could permit the President to announce "I can say even today that I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among Russia, Great Britain, and the United States." I could imagine the feuhrer's sinking feeling when he heard FDR say: *"We had planned to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and at Teheran, but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table."*

That, to me, was the great achievement of '43; the men of good will, the men who abhor fascism, discovered in 1943 "that we were all on the same side of the table."

WHAT else adds to the towering stature of '43? This, it seemed to me: the confluence of victory in the field, with the recognition, belated as it may be, of international community. Not only had we come to recognize and glory over the meaning of Stalingrad as a military victory—we came, in the mass, to understand the simple, yet elusive, term, collective security. We came late, but we came. And that understanding grew as we heard the footsteps of the armies of liberation.

For—as much as anything else—1943 was the year of the peoples' march; out of the terror and dark of the continent the world heard the footsteps of mankind's warriors marching—in unison; heard them singing the songs of liberation—in unison. This was the year mankind began to see clearly through Hitler's tragic hoax of anti-Communism. The outlines of genuine unity were visible against the towering flames of Axis destruction. This was the year the true Yugoslavia was "discovered"; the name Tito flamed across the seas signifying to millions the indestructible unity of all patriots within his country. This—1943—was the year we saw the emergence of the French National Committee of Liberation; we heard the words *"la patrie"* from the lips of men of all callings and classes. (This—1943—was Year One of Darlanism's debacle: we saw the arrest of Peyrouton and of Flandin.) This was the year we learned of the Six Party Coalition of Italy—of Liberals, and Communists, and Catholics meeting "on the same side of the table," while outside the Gestapo and the Ovra marched, and Mussolini foundered. This year we began to distrust labels; we discerned the true criterion of our time: "Does he seek to destroy the enemy? Does he seek to restore the democratic sovereignty of his native land?"

This is the setting for '44; now for the final act. We know it will not be easy. "We still have much to face in the war of further suffering and sacrifice and personal tragedy. . . . There is no easy road to victory," the President said. No, it will not be an easy road for those whose voices we heard on the radio Christmas Day, nor for us back home. The tragic irony is this, as soldiers have so often said: 'The further you get from the front, the worst it gets." The danger zone in our entire war plan is here at home. Mr. Roosevelt warned that he saw "a tendency in some of our people to assume a quick ending of the war—that we have already gained victory." He warned against the deadly peril of "partisan thinking and talking." He could well have emphasized that peril. It is here the Copperhead lurks—that combine of polltax Democrats and lose-the-war Republicans who seek to dynamite the administration. Their assaults on FDR's seven-point program account primarily for the troubles on the home front. Their connivings on the soldiers' franchise, on the crucial issue of subsidies, are deadlier than an Axis armada over New York, over Washington. They imperil the full realization of Teheran and Cairo. Here, then, is one of the greatest battles of '44. The Battle for the Home Front. Should we lose that we may well lose all.

Good diagnosis, we know, is half the cure. The ill is disunity—the virulent bug, the disruptionist. The cure? A stiff dose of political action. We need consult no pharmacopeia: the ingredients are known. Taking labor unity as the base, the cure requires a maximum compound of popular unity. As FDR indicated, today's slogan is "win-the-war"—meaning the patriotic employer as well as his employe—and all classes between. This is the earnest of victory in the coming election, the most crucial in our history. This is the imperative of '44; recognition of this necessity, and immediate concentration upon it, will guarantee the Teheran promise.

AND when the children asked me to point out where Hitler lived, I put my finger on the globe at the spot marked "Berlin" saying: "But by next Christmas he won't live there any more." A New Year's resolution millions have made—hell, high-water, or Hoover notwithstanding.

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TO YOU WHO ARE FREE

A message from Morris U. Schappes, written on the eve of his imprisonment. "I will not rest from mental fight. . . ." The privilege and duty of those at liberty to act in the battle for democracy.

The following is a speech made by Morris U. Schappes shortly before he was committed to Sing Sing to serve from eighteen months to two years on trumped-up charges of perjury growing out of the Rapp-Coudert witch-hunt in the New York schools in 1941. The speech was made at a meeting in Schappes' behalf held by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. NEW MASSES *readers are urged to wire or write Governor Dewey at Albany, N. Y., requesting that he pardon this outstanding anti-fascist.—The Editors.*

ALLOW me first to express my thanks to the Federation, to its officers, and to everyone here who has in the past been so active and zealous in defense of a common cause. These thanks I offer are the thanks one extends to fighting allies in the struggle which I have been so generously made to feel is not a personal one on my part. I am happy that every one who has spoken has declared that we are gathered here to undo a public injury rather than a private woe.

As a Jew I particularly appreciate this attitude. The Jews have traditionally shown a sense of justice and injustice that perhaps outstrips every other sense. Recently I have been studying the work of a Jewish-American poet and thinker, Emma Lazarus. She very pregnantly made me aware of the fact that among non-Jewish groups fraternity is often a matter of charity, but to the Jewish people, brought up on the Mosaic Code, fraternity is a matter of justice. While other groups preached and sometimes practiced charity, with its overtones of condescension, Jewish biblical law required that the community take care of all of its citizens as a matter of their right. Perhaps I am also the heir of the Jewish habit of resistance to oppression, without which Jews could not have survived centuries of persecution. This habit has made it possible for me to participate with you for so long in so many fields of social activity.

Sitting here and hearing busy and valuable people devoting their time to this particular case made me reflect: "Why are you here, you who know there are so many important things that have to be attended to?" It helps one keep one's balance to remember that there are other important problems clamoring for action. I live in Harlem, as Max Yergan knows. We are neighbors, just a block apart. Well, just the other week one of my Negro neighbors had her brother come home, discharged from the Army for medical reasons. He told his sister something which helps me maintain a proper perspective and relative sense of values. Her brother had been stationed in Alabama. In this Army camp there was a group of war prisoners, Germans. On Saturday nights these German war prisoners, properly protected, of course, by guards, would be escorted to the Alabama town for an American Saturday night "in town." But the Negro troops stationed there were not allowed, either escorted or under their own power, to go to town in Alabama on a Saturday night. Since hearing this story I have been thinking that surely there is nothing that can be done to one man at Sing Sing, either in two years or a year and a half or in any time that you may commute the sentence to, that can be quite as vicious, quite as brutalizing, quite as demoralizing as that which almost a half million Negro soldiers face in the armed forces or that which so many millions face in civilian life that is not yet entirely civilized.

I THINK, then, that you are here to dedicate your strength to this particular case because you must recognize that this case is connected with all the other issues of this war of national independence. You are here also, I believe, because you know that every battle must be waged in its own right, that although all battles are connected, winning other battles will not by itself win this battle. Other victories will of course help. But you will achieve your stated objective of freeing me only by fighting for this specific victory.

We are here I think because we are all people of active conscience. I say active conscience. I do not mean the kind of conscience that stirs just when you are about to fall asleep, the conscience that then melts away into a healthful slumber that refreshes you for the next day's conscienceless work. An active conscience is a formidable thing. You will be arousing the active consciences of this state and nation to try

Love Song: 1943

Still with arms and legs, and eyes unblinded, we walk
in the night on the California hills.

Remember the remarkable peace of those evenings in the
year of the great appeasement;

We heard the unopened war like a gaunt horse thumping
drearily westward.

Clearly the planets are unmoved, not a night older
the obvious moon;
Yet of the windless years we hold only
this quiet moment.

This visible city is far from the guns, a hush
upon its half-lit heart;

The divisional convoy crosses the pass like a file
of armored bees;
P-38s on late patrol are heading for the murderous Pacific.

A summer ago and briefly we met the young pilot
on leave from the desert camp.
(Summer again: Reported Missing: his Liberator
vanished over Europe)

We have been left with arms and legs, and eyes
unblinded: to see: to act.

There were two companions; a third goes under
these stars;

We, and the hills, and love, do not matter to him.
He must matter to us.

DON GORDON.

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to move the conscience of the governor of this state. I know you can do it.

Something has been said here by several speakers of what the passage of time has done to clarify the atmosphere. I think the passage of time has not changed the nature of the case so much as it has *revealed* the nature of the case. Suppose, for example, that the Coudert committee had been bound to respect my rights as an American citizen in the same way that the US Civil Service Commission has recently instructed its investigators to respect the rights of the applicants and witnesses they question. (I know there are weaknesses in that Commission's report, but they do not affect the restrictions placed on the types of questions that may be asked.) In such a case the Coudert committee could not legally have asked me any of the questions to which my answers proved to be so "unsatisfactory." They would not have been able to ask me who my political associates were, who were my trade union associates, who had collaborated with me in many years of struggle against fascism from 1933 on, or what my opinions were of capitalism, of the Soviet Union, of Soviet-American relations, of the Moscow trials, Finland, Ethiopia, Spain, China, Jim Crow in the United States, and so forth. Had there been no such improper questions there would have been no answers. But then there would have been no case! Yet the Coudert committee was determined to make a case that would contribute to the public confusion.

THESE past two and a half years have therefore demonstrated that it was the Coudert committee's attack that was inimical to the public welfare and not the conduct of my fellow-teachers, or of myself.

One of the speakers, our distinguished sociologist (Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild), has spoken of the "forces" at work. We know, however, that these forces operate through individuals.

As I look back upon the individuals involved on the opposite side, and as I get reports sometimes of penitence, sometimes of uneasiness, sometimes of a wishing they had not been quite so responsive to the hysteria, I still think that we ought to hold them to their responsibility. The war has taught us the lesson of individual responsibility. We absolve no one who does not fight on our side. In some countries it is very difficult to fight on the side of the United Nations. Yet the United Nations have declared that they will hold no one guiltless who does not demonstrate on what side he is by fighting on that side. Words must be backed by deeds.

The words, uttered in a different period, of some of these persons who now are reported to wish us well, are still being used against us by, for example, the Scripps-Howard press. Such persons can be absolved of responsibility only if they themselves take steps publicly to change the record.

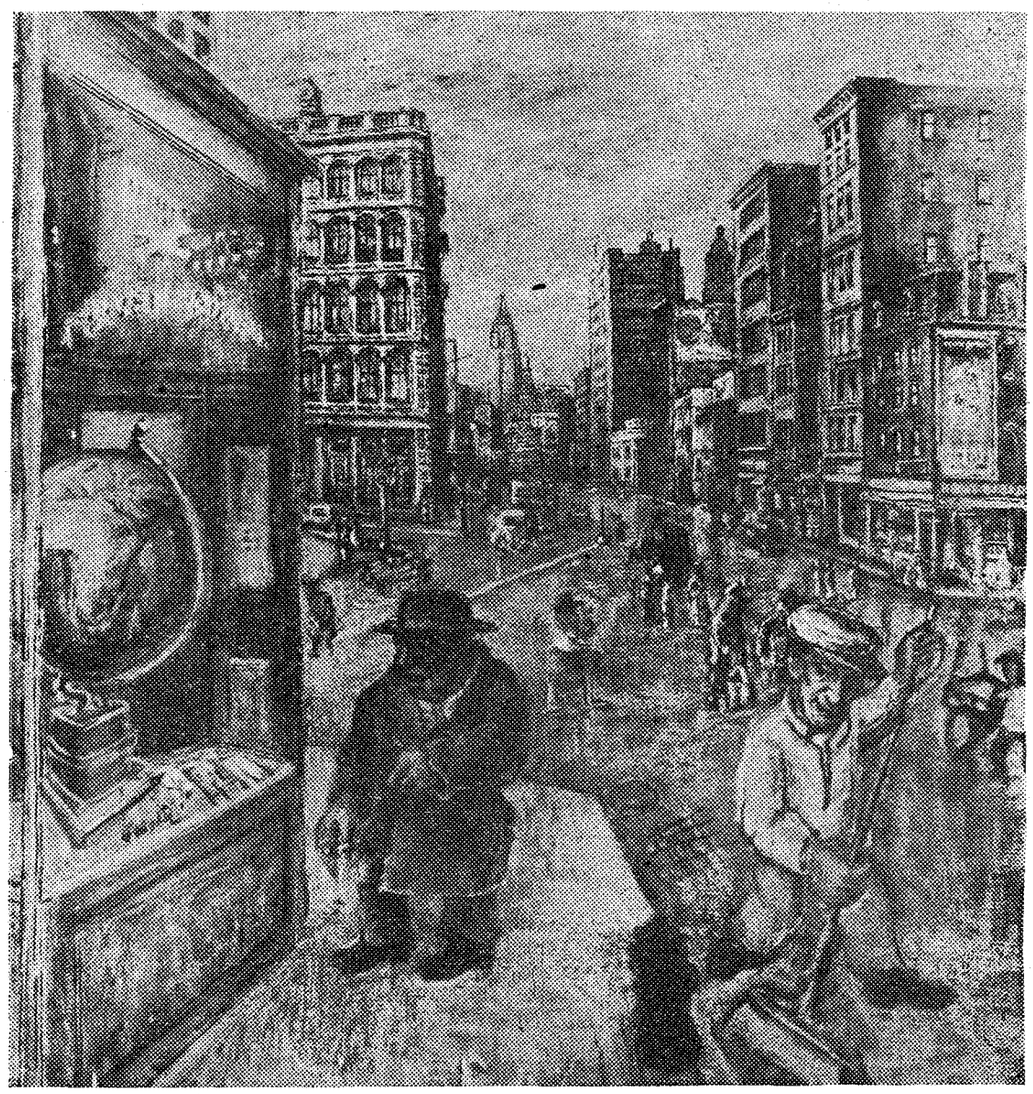
IN CLOSING I am reminded of the famous colloquy of Thoreau and Emerson, which I want to reinterpret in the light of conditions today. When our country fought an unjust war against Mexico a century ago, Henry David Thoreau refused to pay taxes. I don't think that is the right way to oppose an unjust war, but Thoreau did. He was put in prison in Concord, a simple country jail, not the kind of elaborate metropolitan institution for which I am headed. One day Ralph Waldo Emerson, who also was opposed to the unjust war, walked by the jail and saw Thoreau inside. "Henry," he asked, "what are you doing in there?" Henry's famous reply was, "Waldo, what are you doing out there?" Well, I think I know, from what you have done in the past, what you will be doing out there.

In there, all I can assure you is that, in William Blake's words:

I will not rest from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand
Until we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

In England's and in ours, and everywhere, mine will be a mental fight. You will have the great privilege of freedom. More than anything else, I think, freedom means the opportunity to be as active as possible in the prosecution of the tasks of the war. I envy you that privilege. I hope only that I shall be returned, sooner than is designed by some, to continue the common struggle with you.

MORRIS U. SCHAPPES.



"Dream About Travel" by D. Burliuk.

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"WHITE COLLAR" PROBLEM?

Lyle Dowling and Lewis Merill argue some questions arising out of Mr. Merrill's recent New Masses article.

NEW MASSES *presents a discussion on the white-collar worker between Lyle Dowling, writer on labor problems, and Lewis Merrill, president of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO. The discussion was precipitated by Mr. Merrill's article in our December 14 issue on the problems of white-collar workers.—The Editors.*

IN LEWIS MERRILL'S timely discussion of that problem which we all call, for lack of more precise terminology, the white-collar problem (NEW MASSES, December 14), there is a certain amount of rather basic confusion (in my opinion, of course) which, if it be widespread, will make a very shaky foundation indeed for any program designed to speed the solution of this white-collar problem. I put this confusion down to the obviously strenuous demands on Mr. Merrill's time and attention; for his union's record and his own record are too well known to need defense.

First of all, it does not get us anywhere to speak of white-collar workers as *fixed income* workers—as if there were some meaning of the phrase "fixed income" which applies to white-collar workers, but does not apply to industrial production workers. One excepts, of course, the groups who—because they work for federal, state, county, or city governments—may have their wages (or shall we use the high-falutin' term, salaries?) fixed by law. White-collar incomes, so far as the overwhelming majority of non-governmental workers are concerned, are not subject to any restrictions which do not also apply to industrial production workers' incomes. It is not, essentially, the WLB which fixes wages; the old reliable "ceiling" on wages is the boss. The boss fixes wages of white-collar and production workers alike; and they stay fixed until these workers, through their unions and by using such governmental machinery as exists, proceed to unfix the wages.

Indeed, from the angle of the Little Steel formula, conditions are somewhat more favorable for white-collar workers than for industrial production workers. For almost all production workers have some time ago exhausted all or most of the possibilities of the Little Steel formula—where, in contrast, very large groups of white-collar workers can still go quite a way without touching these ceilings, inadequate though they may be in a general way.

SECONDLY, what is the point of speaking of these white-collar workers as middle class? They are middle class neither by test of income level nor by the much more reliable test of their relationship to the means of production. They may *think* they are middle class, as, indeed, Mr. Merrill appears to think—but that is a misconception which the union should help correct.

From wrongly classifying the average white-collar worker as middle class flows another confusion—the assumption that the "status" of these workers is being impaired, that their "inferior" economic position imperils something or other. The position of these workers has always been "inferior." It has always seemed especially "inferior" to those white-collar workers who like to imagine they are middle class, a cut above the working class, and all that sort of thing. Let us try to banish, not encourage, these delusions!

What is there, then, that is special about this white-collar problem? It is that they have not yet organized on sufficient scale to possess the organizational means through which to protect themselves to the necessary extent. Mr. Merrill has this answer down solid, naturally; for United Office and Professional Workers of America has organized lots of white-collar workers.

From there, however, he jumps into another ideological trap—which is the assumption that, somehow and some way, the white-collar workers are going to be organized by somebody else; say, by the unions of industrial production workers. When one says, "the labor-progressive movement has not done all it could to help," one is not saying very much; for when was there a period, when was there a situation, in which we could truthfully say, "we did absolutely everything we could"? It may be, and I think is, true as far as it goes; but it is a very dangerous piece of truth indeed, if it leads white-collar workers to believe that they can wait for *somebody else* to do the work and pay the bills.

There are indeed objective differences between white-collar workers and production workers, differences that can readily be exaggerated in unhealthy directions. These differences in objective characteristics are valid reasons for different *procedures* in organizing work—but they are *not* valid reasons for ascribing organizational shortcomings to the unions of the production workers.

It is well known that a large and important part of the whole task of organizing industrial production workers consisted of getting a clear, accurate theoretical picture of what the problem really was. The whole fight to discard erroneous theories and work out a correct (that is, practical) theory was crucially important. White-collar workers, if they are to organize themselves successfully and on the necessary scale, must also put up a fight for the correct theory and discard incorrect ones.

So let us stop emphasizing that "what is done for them (the white-collar workers)" is what counts. True—and this is what Mr. Merrill means, I am sure—what is *done* is vastly more important than what is *said*. But not, I think, done *for* them. To reformulate, then: it is what is done *by* the white-collar workers for themselves and for the people generally, not what is said *by* them, that will really count.

LYLE DOWLING.

MR. MERRILL REPLIES

MR. DOWLING is quite correct in saying that I could use more time. But my use of it would not make him more content. In kindly fashion he ascribes "basic confusions" in my article to its hurried preparation. But we have what seem to be irreconcilable differences in point of view. Perhaps he misunderstands the problem. It is not one of union organization alone, but of steadying support for the President—and improving national morale. But let me comment on his objections in the order of their delivery.

Fixed incomes: It is true the phrase is not entirely accurate since it more properly applies to those living on income from investments, insurance, pensions, annuity payments and like proceeds. But it will do. In the main white-collar incomes are not restricted by law. But they are restricted by business practices deliberately designed to prevent salaries from rising. The ability of business to get away with it is conditioned by a variety of economic factors. If space were available I would like to discuss it here. But it was not the intention of my article to free the employers of salaried workers from their responsibility for the fact that the real wages of the white-collar workers have been dropping consistently during the war. The problem is not allocating the blame. It's getting something done about it.

The Little Steel formula: It is a fact that the National War Labor Board and its restrictive wage practices, symbolized by the Little Steel formula, are preventing adequate improvement in the salary structure. Because the present condition of the salaried workers is not an adventitious result of the war, but is inherent in our methods of production and distribution, mere

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application of the fifteen percent formula will prove, by and large, utterly inadequate. Even today, though, major financial benefits could be secured from the Board within the framework of its past decisions, with respect patricularly to effecting proper and scientific salary classification schemes within each industry.

But the logic of the Board's standpat position and its complete reliance upon the Little Steel formula has led it to deprive millions of these salaried workers of the benefits of the Board's procedures. It has led to needless and avoidable delays where it has taken jurisdiction. By failing to provide prompt decisions on those cases coming before it, the institution of sound salary policy for all industries has been prevented.

IF THE organized labor movement is able to win its present fight and break the Board's intransigeant attitude, the salaried workers will stand a chance of getting their needs satisfied. For those who are interested in a concrete application of this idea to the insurance industry, where there has been a drop of 6.2 percent in real earnings, the UOPWA would be glad to provide a copy of its pamphlet *Stand Up and Fight.*

Are white-collar workers middle class? We will get nowhere merely by feeling impatient with the white-collar workers' middle class outlook, or feeling that we are remiss in not contending with it by stating flatly that they are a part of the working class and should recognize the fact. There is plenty of economic and social justification for the salaried workers—clerks, salesmen, teachers, librarians, accountants, draftsmen, etc.—feeling that they are middle class. Further, their conditions were not always "inferior" by comparison with other sections of the population and they know it.

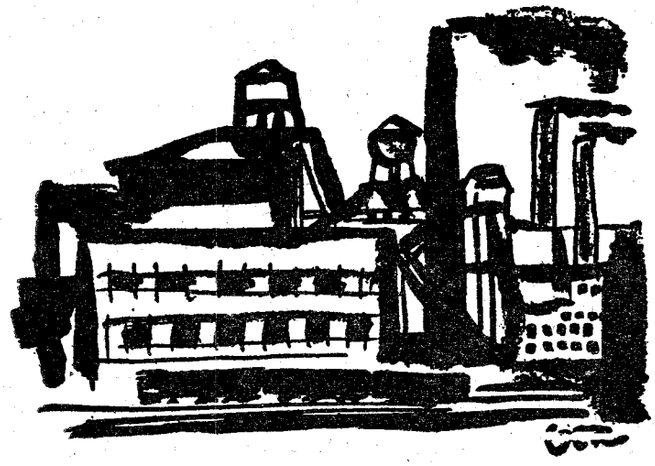
Of course, their conditions have been in the process of change, and so are their ideas about it. They will have to be organized as they are and as they think they are and not as we, appraising their status by cold cash alone, think they should recognize themselves to be.

The truth is they are in an anomalous position. However, up to this historical period, because of these anomalies which blurred their class position, they drew the conclusion that their interests lay with the employers and that the *employers were no different from themselves.* Mr. Dowling says: "Your interests lie with the workers and *you are no different than they.*" But there are differences. Very important differences that don't disappear simply because they are ignored. Both the differences and the similarities have to be understood and used for what they are worth.

Why don't they help themselves? I am hardly blind to the benefits secured directly and indirectly for the white-collar workers by organized labor. But we do have organizational shortcomings. The industrial unions have preempted jurisdiction, for example, over all white-collar workers in basic industry. But they are not organizing them. They have to do the job or move over and let the white-collar unions do the job. That's a shortcoming, which, when corrected, will provide the greatest single stimulus to the organization of all white-collar workers.

THE white-collar workers are "doing something" on their own hook. The progress of the white-collar unions has been very important and a source of genuine pride to the trade union movement. For example, now it is possible because of their work for the whole of organized labor to put its shoulder to the wheel and get the job done in jolly quick time.

We could have said to the labor movement in 1935: "Stop worrying about the steel workers. The miners got themselves a union, didn't they? And they did it in the old-fashioned way. When conditions get bad enough for them, the steel workers will get hep too." It was a position supported by the hierarchy of the AFL. But that is not the attitude that finally prevailed and it was a lucky thing for our country that it didn't. It is equally bad advice when given on the white-collar problem.



What's special about the white-collar problem? It is a fact that these men and women have grown up thinking (and a natural thing it was in an expanding economy) that as far as looking after themselves was concerned they needed no help from anyone. Now, because of profound international and national changes, they have to seek beyond themselves for the answer to personal problems. So, characteristically, they become bewildered, confused, and dejected. When this takes place on a large scale, it is a social force to be reckoned with. The enemies of the labor movement recognize this fact and hope to turn it against labor and its fight for the whole people. They can only organize them against labor if labor neglects this problem or fails to provide answers broad enough in scope to meet the enlarged need. To do this job it is useful, it is true, to have a "theory" which Mr. Dowling is anxious to see provided. The "theory" he puts forward is hardly useful since it leads to inaction. We don't need a "theory" to do nothing. We need a theory that will guide practical activity and will concentrate that activity on the job to be done now.

All I said is that the white-collar worker doesn't have to be told he should join a union. He is becoming aware of it on a constantly increasing scale. He's saying "What's in it for me?" The posing of this hard-headed question is always the prelude to practical action and the union or movement that can't answer it—and by demonstration—just can't win. Unions do not come into existence or expand by some spontaneous and mysterious social alchemy.

I want to stress, though, that the problem is not alone that of winning for the white-collar unions. The real problem is in the face of the current vigorous challenge, to stabilize them in their present support of the Commander-in-Chief and progressive governmental policy. If that is to be done, their economic problems must be given prompt attention. I am sure that the favorable national atmosphere that would then be engendered would encourage the prosperity of the white-collar unions. Only by doing a sound job for the nation can we in the white-collar unions do a sound job for ourselves. That is why we make clear to all non-labor groups that while we feel the only effective answer for permanent results will be found through direct affiliation or alliance with labor, nevertheless the important thing is for unity of action on the immediate job at hand. The job at hand is to clean up these economic obstacles being used to divert the salaried workers and the urban middle classes away from the President and his policies. I repeat: "What is done for them, and not what is said about them, will decide whether the salaried workers will provide a reserve strength to reaction or to progress."

LEWIS MERRILL.

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READERS' FORUM

America and the Jews

To New Masses: William Zukerman's fine article is a tribute to the political sensitiveness, which, in this particular issue, manifests itself a little late. In my reading of the New Masses during these past few critical years, this is the first time, aside from Gropper's moving and eloquent drawings, that the Jewish problem has been presented both soundly and full of feeling (as it should be). Oh! yes, there are faults in Mr. Zukerman's article, his lack of political insight in the problem of German-Jewish annihilation, or in his analysis of British government's behavior, but none of them is as bad as the fault of omission, or of *cold-blooded* dialectics on the part of the New Masses, itself.

Too frequently of late have we pushed the Jewish problem into the background; too frequently overshadowed it with "more pressing" issues; too often have we said to the Jew, "Why should you complain? Look at the Negroes, the Chinese, the Hindus!" I have never forgotten the Jewish comrade addressing an emergency symposium of Jewish people, called on the day after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact, when there was so much bewilderment, saying, "But my dear fellow-Jews you do not realize how much this pact will help the Chinese!" That he wasn't mobbed is a tribute to his speed in retreat. Too easily and too over-simply have we said, "The Jewish problem is just like any minority problem. Persecution of minorities is the tactic of imperio-capitalism and fascism."

And now we realize that if the anti-Semitic section of Hitler's program had been frustrated, the march of fascism would have been greatly impeded. We are awakening to the fact that the Jewish problem is not like any other minority problem and never has been in its long history. It is the "special" problem of the day to be treated in a "special way." (To me this is the significance of the appearance of this article.) We must *face the fact* that today in the United States, Joe North's encouraging evidence notwithstanding, anti-Semitism is the most important and successful spearhead of the fascist offensive. Let us face this fact honestly and without alarm or else we will suffer as the Jews of Europe have suffered.

The sooner we accept this fact, the sooner we can plan the proper counter-offensive and win over to the progressive struggle the masses of the Jewish people, too long alienated, and with them the liberal and democratic elements in this country.

That's why it's so encouraging to hear one of our most politically-sensitive progressives, Morris Schappes, say, on going to prison, "I will devote myself to the study of American and *Jewish* history." And we see the immediate fruits of this new study in his passionate and brilliant article on the Dreyfus case in a recent Sunday issue of the *Worker*, where for the first time in this country we see it handled with full Marxist analysis.

It is only through this type of study and perspective that the proper action in our battle against anti-Semitism and fascism can be developed. The New Masses has *begun* with the Zukerman article. This is the kind of leadership that is needed. Let the New Masses *not* drop the issue till the battle is won.

Nat Werner.

New York.

Toledano's Example

To New Masses: The announcement of a coming world labor conference in England for next June is an event of immense importance, and may well turn out to be, like the Moscow Conference, one of those points at which history takes a new, and better path.

In your editorial on the call for the conference, in New Masses, November 23, you mention the part played by Lombardo Toledano in crystalizing the demand for such a gathering among Latin-American workers. I wish you could stress and emphasize the part that Toledano has played in educating the CTAL to a wide view of labor relations and responsibilities. I have just finished reading a series of his speeches before various labor groups during the last four years, including one delivered in Texas. There are not many leaders in our hemisphere, either in labor or in general political life, who could match them for breadth of outlook, persistence in seeking a goal, and sanity in judging the tactics of reaching that goal. And that goal is unity—unity within Mexican labor, within Latin-American labor, both of which aims he has attained to a surprising extent; and then unity with the labor of the United States and of Canada, and finally unity with the Anglo-Soviet bloc. And this unity of labor includes unity with all progressive forces everywhere.

It would seem that our own labor leaders would do well to study the work of Toledano. One of his greatest achievements has been the awakening and bringing to the front of the progressive forces in the Catholic Church, which so often lie dormant. Naturally the bulk of the workers of Latin-America are Catholic, but they are showing awareness of the need for unity with all workers, and a courage in pursuing their aim that might shame many of our own workers, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or anything else.

Eric A. Starbuck.

Cambridge, Mass.

The Underground

To New Masses: The underground is now fully out in the open in Hollywood. For two years we have been getting release after release on the underground theme, some excellent, some mediocre, and some very, very bad. Of late these releases have been coming thick and fast. But as yet, no measure of identity as to who and what makes up the underground. Its agents, be they in Germany, or Holland, or France, are consistently pictured as over-generalizations of individual entities, or collections of individuals vaguely united by a common nationalistic desire. Generalizations are necessary in depicting a struggle belonging to all peoples enslaved by the fascist hordes. But over-generalization robs the American people of a true understanding of the forces at play in the struggles of the peoples in occupied countries against their enslavers.

The activities of the underground are not mere cinema heroics. It takes long planning, daily sacrifices, and struggles to be successful. Cells do not spring from nowhere; someone has to lead and show the way. Who? Well whom do the Nazis kill off first; whom do they fear most? Yes, the Communists. This is no deep secret, not even to Hollywood producers. No, the Communists are not the only renderers of sacrifice in today's struggles. But they *were* and *are* a leading driving force. All this is lost in the over-generalizations. As a consequence, we have the following anamolous picture on the American scene—millions of Americans wholeheartedly, and correctly, applauding the cinema picturization of unidentified underground agents; on the other hand these same millions being subjected, and in many instances successfully, to the "red-bogey-man-will-get-you-if-you-don't-watch-out" threats of the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson press.

This anamoly is a challenge to the American public.

H. H. Des.

Chicago, Ill.

For a Strong Rear

To New Masses: I wish to support Earl Browder's contention that American fascists be lawfully suppressed. Some liberals base their arguments against this on constitutional grounds while conveniently forgetting that the war against fascist aggression was declared on constitutional grounds. Are we to wage war against fascists on the battle front and tolerate fascists on the home front? If it is unconstitutional to suppress fascist activities, including speech, is it also unconstitutional to declare war on fascism? Are the liberals fighting all fascists or just some of them?

The Soviet Union has shown by example the glaring fact that a strong rear is the prerequisite of a strong front. Anyone who sees no need for the suppression of fascists is not fighting fascism.

Scotty Barclay.

Northville, Mich.

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HEART OF EUROPE

Despite shortcomings, this anthology of creative writing offers much valuable material for the American reader. Reviewed by Alfred Dujardin. . . . Other current books.

HEART OF EUROPE, An anthology of creative writing in Europe, 1926-1940. *Edited by Klaus Mann and Hermann Kesten, with an introduction by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. L. B. Fischer. $5.*

"THE fortress of Europe is doomed. The heart of Europe is immortal." These are the opening words of Klaus Mann's preface to an anthology which purports to "present as comprehensive and unbiased a survey of what is soundly alive and lastingly valid in the European literary production of the last two decades, in the fields of poetry and of narrative and analytical prose." And indeed, this time of the turning tide, when the doom of Hitler's *Festung Europa* is being transformed from a hope into an inevitability, and a new life for the paralyzed European culture begins to dawn—this time seems particularly favorable for such a survey. Every anthology is incomplete, and every anthologist is to a certain extent bound to be unjust. The editors of *Heart of Europe* were well aware of this, so to speak, immanent shortcoming of their venture. Klaus Mann therefore takes pains to declare that "it was impossible to omit in this selection all symptoms of decadence and confusion," because they were, in his opinion, "inherent in the works of the very authors who may turn out to be the heralds of a coming European renaissance."

At the same time the editors made it their "policy to exclude from this book all those writers in whose style and ideology fascist elements predominate." Still there are a few admitted exceptions to this rule, and Klaus Mann tries to justify them in explaining that the anti-democratic and authoritarian elements in the works of the German poet Stefan George and the French dramatist and poet Paul Claudel "are outweighed by other tendencies of a more approvable nature." But even if we concede this, we might find it impossible to go along with Mr. Mann's excuses for including in his selection of authors with predominantly non-fascist and anti-fascist tendencies such outspoken lackeys of fascism as Luigi Pirandello and Jean Cocteau. Here, sentimentality and a too deep understanding and sympathy for "the morbid entanglements of split personalities" seem to have blurred the conscience of the editor-in-chief of the anthology.

On the other hand, the omission of certain authors cannot be excused merely by the fact that the editors believed "that their works, however popular, clever, and entertaining, are not essential in the particular context of this book." For leaving out such eminently gifted and powerful writers as Johannes R. Becher, Arnold Zweig, Miloslav Krleza, Alexander Fadeyev, and others, while including, in addition to Cocteau and Pirandello, quite a few surefire nullities, is more than an editorial error or a slip in the sphere of taste; it is a serious deformation of the heart of Europe. For, after all, the life blood of that heart is represented by the work of the clearest anti-fascists among the European writers.

IN SPITE of this grave shortcoming, and quite a number of other defects (some of which I will point out later on) *Heart of Europe* offers the American reader a wealth of interesting and valuable reading material. And some of the introductions to the different sections contain a great deal of good information about the development of literature in the European countries during the fateful twenty years between the world wars.

France opens the march of national literatures represented in this anthology. Twenty-two authors are presented to the reader with poems, essays, stories, and fragments of novels. Yvan Goll's introduction is a typical *causerie:* well-rounded sentences, glittering metaphors, aphoristic formulas. If you seriously try to find in these works of literature the meaning of the tragic political developments which led to the catastrophe of 1940, you will be thoroughly disappointed. Most contributions seem to be selected with a definite desire to exclude analysis, criticism, even a plain realistic picturing of diseased life in France during the last two decades. Whereas a collaborationist like Cocteau,

a somber adversary of democracy and a follower of a destructive philosophy like Claudel, and quite a number of morbid authors are represented, we search in vain for Pierre Emmanuel's poetry with its burning hatred for the Nazi invader. Aragon, too, could have been represented by more than one short poem. And why was Vladimir Pozner excluded?

The Spanish selection is adorned with beautiful poems by Garcia Lorca, Antonio Machado, and Rafael Alberti. By contrast the essays of Unamuno and Ortega y Gasset are stale and limping.

The introduction to the Portuguese section, written by Lusitano de Castro, is a little masterpiece—concise, informative, and courageous. After having read this three-page essay, the reader not only has a picture of Portuguese literature but also of the dismal results of Mr. Salazar's "enlightened fascist dictatorship." The three samples of Portuguese literature are equally excellent. One wants to read more of the works of Raul Brandao, Aquilino Ribeiro, and Jose Rodrigues Migueis (especially Migueis, whose "Proud Beauty" is a fascinating New York story with European flavor).

The Italian section is meager. Benedetto Croce's essay on Balzac falls far behind the Balzac essays of other European writers—Zola, Heinrich Mann, even Stefan Zweig. The piece of Emilio Lussu, now leader of the Action Party, one of the six anti-fascist parties, is outstanding because of its vitality and vigor.

The Balkan literatures are dealt with very differently. Good Bulgarian and fair Greek selections are confronted with an odd Rumanian assortment and an outright preposterous sample of Yugoslav literature. Only Serb writers were chosen, and among them one Dragisha Vasic, apparently more because of his political affiliation (he became one of the political advisers of Draja Mikhailovich) than for his literary value. The Croats and Slovenes were excluded. Yet there are among them such outstanding figures as Krleza and Nazor, the latter an active fighter in the ranks of the Yugoslav Partisan Army of Liberation despite his age of more than seventy years.

The Polish section is very well rounded. All the contributions are on a high literary

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level. Wittlin's beautiful prose and Tuwim's fiery poetry are special gems. Still we would rather have read Wanda Wassilewska and the poet Broniewski instead of the rather conventional Lechon and Wierzinski.

The Russian section contains pieces of two White emigres Remisov and Bunin, and of nine distinguished Soviet writers: Gorki, Babel, Alexei Tolstoy, Ehrenburg, Mayakovsky, Pasternak, Zostchenko, Olesha, and Sholokhov. We miss Fadeyev, Leonov, Katayev, Petrov, who could have replaced Olesha, Zostchenko, and Babel. We miss Tikhonov and Kirsanov. And where are the other European Soviet literatures? Are there no Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Moldavians, to name only some of them? This is a real blunder on the part of the editors, who relied apparently on the expertness of the author of the introduction to the Russian selection, Mr. Thomas Quinn Curtiss, who displays a terrifying ignorance and bias in his sloppily written piece of misinformation.

Czechoslovakia is represented by a splendid array of Czech writers. The Slovaks are missing. There are also four German writers from Czechslovakia, all known far outside of their country (Ernst Weiss, Franz Kafka, F. C. Weiskopf, Rainer Maria Rilke). Of the Czechs, only Karel Capek and Hasek have been introduced to an international public. But the samples from the poems of Wolker, Nezval, Hora, and Halas, and the prose pieces of Hostovsky, Olbracht, Vancura should induce some publisher to alter this situation.

Belgium and the Netherlands surprise the reader more by quantity than by quality. Norway is very well represented, the introduction of Lise Lindbaeck is excellent. Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary, and Switzerland are inadequately represented.

The Austrian section is a sort of cemetery. Four of the seven writers are dead, and the three living ones—Franz Werfel, Richard Beer-Hoffmann, Hermann Broch—are philosophically and artistically very far on the conservative side. Not a single writer of the left has been taken in. To achieve this, the editors had to eliminate poetry. Otherwise they could not have left out such outstanding authors as Berthold Viertel, Fritz Bruegel, and Ernst Waldinger. The young generation of Austrian literature—Eva Priester, Heinz Karpeles—are apparently utterly unknown to Robert Pick who wrote the introduction.

The German selection seems to be one of the queerest. Here, the fact that Klaus Mann and Hermann Kesten belong to German letters has evidently hampered the objectivity of the selection. To leave out the most important of present-day German poets—Johannes R. Becher—is something. But to include one of Zuckmayer's poems is to distort the picture of German poetry. And Lion Feuchtwanger, Arnold Zweig, Anna Seghers not only could, but invariably should, replace Bruno Frank, Gustav Regler, and Joachim Mass; their exclusion cannot be excused. Nor is it a "compensation" that Bert Brecht and Heinrich Mann outweigh a number of their selection mates.

To glance over the short biographies of 141 writers from twenty-one countries gives the reader an impressive picture of what has happened to European literature since the advent of fascism. Thirty of the writers are dead, many of them are direct or indirect victims of fascism. Lorca was murdered by Franco bandits in the early days of the Spanish civil war; Vancura was shot as a hostage by the Nazis after Reichsprotektor Heydrich had been killed by Czech patriots in Prague; Halas and Olbracht, two other Czech authors, died "of unknown causes," under the foreign yoke. Halas was last heard from after he had been put into a concentration camp. The Norwegians Arnulf Overland and Eyvind Berggrav are also behind barbed wire as prisoners of the Gestapo. Martin Andersen Nexo was in a camp. Latest reports have it that he managed to escape from his native Denmark to Sweden. The Czechoslovak Ernst Weiss, and the Dutch Ter Braak committed suicide when the Nazis marched into the city where they lived. Of Romain Rolland, one report said that he had died in a German prison, another report spoke "only of serious illness." The whereabouts of Aragon is unknown—he is hiding somewhere in France. Stefan Zweig and Ernst Toller could not bear life in exile and finished their existence of their free will. Karel Capek literally died of the Munich betrayal. Most of the others are dispersed over many lands of exile.

There is much gloom in the voices of the writers who are represented in *Heart of Europe*. There is death and horror and nostalgia. But there is, too, the strong voice of the future, the true voice of surviving and immortal Europe. In the words of the favorite song of the Norwegian underground:

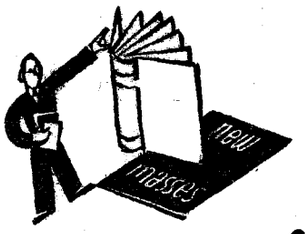
Though some are fallen, and others
Must follow ere the end,
We've strength that will not bend.
We shall survive, my brothers.

ALFRED DUJARDIN.

Russia in the War

LA BATALLA DE RUSIA, *por Andre Simone. Traduccion del Ingles por Pedro Quintanilla. El Libro Libre, Mexico.*

"The Battle of Russia"! "Battle" seems somehow so much more meaningful than "war" in this case. A battle it has been, one long, uninterrupted battle,



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WAR BONDS

since that Sunday morning of June 22, 1941, when Frau Mueller—*any* Frau Mueller—turned on her radio and, in place of the usual setting-up exercises (*"Eins, zwei, Knie beugt!"*) heard Herr Doktor Goebbels' voice announcing yet one more mad adventure on the part of der fuhrer.

Thus began this gigantic battle which was to be the battle of humanity fought on Russian soil. That some one, some day, would tell the story, write the history of this conflict in all its larger world-embracing implications, was a certainty, but I for one never expected to see this task accomplished so thoroughly and so soon, even before the last of the Nazi-German hordes have been driven from the soil of the Soviet Union. Yet this is precisely what Andre Simone has done. There will, of course, have to be additions, but they will be more or less in the nature of an epilogue.

Above all, I never expected to see the task accomplished with so much of fire and passion, the flaming poetry of a righteous wrath, shot through with a boundless admiration for the unbelievable heroism of the Soviet peoples and set off by the flashing and vivid phrase of which Simone is a past master.

The story—for I prefer to regard it as a story, a saga—moves with the speed of the modern pursuit plane. Starting with Frau Mueller and that instinctive quickening of breath on the part of the German people, the tale at once takes on a shifting, kaleidoscopic intensity. We see the dauntless German Communists at the factory gates, doing their utmost to persuade the workers not to return. Then to Moscow and the supreme confidence that was being manifested by Stalin and the other Soviet leaders. Vishinsky's proud declaration: "There will be no fifth column in Russia." Across the seas to the two great capitalist democracies, England and our own America: "How long will Russia hold out?" Churchill's "Russia's peril is our peril." The Nazi boast: "The North Americans will not be with the Soviets." The assertion by TASS: "The North Americans will be on our side." Stalin's word: "We are not alone. The Nazis are not invincible."

LATER comes the "discovery of the Soviet Union" (Simone's phrase) by England and America. Beaverbrook, Harriman, Hopkins, Davies. The battle of Moscow, and, in the midst of it all, the calm, proud, confident celebration of the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Soviet Union, in November 1941. Rostov changes hands twice, and the Nazis retreat from Moscow. Shortly after—Pearl Harbor. Christmas in Berlin was not so merry a one that year, the leaves on the *Tannenbaum* were not so green, for the first great Soviet winter offensive was on.

The birth of the United Nations. "No separate peace." And Hitler—Hitler admits

he doesn't know when the war will end. Internal troubles in the Reich have begun, and peace-feelers are put out. The demand for a second front is raised, as Anglo-Soviet-American collaboration is established. Rommel bobs up in Africa and the North African campaign is fought.

Lidice. Jews issue a call from Moscow for world Jewry to join in the fight against Nazism. Stalingrad and "the battle of the third floor." The "Glory of Sevastopol." Churchill goes to Moscow. The question of a second front in 1942. Wendell Willkie's visit to the Soviet Union. "From Kharkov to Stalingrad." "From Stalingrad to Kharkov." The lifting of the siege of Leningrad —"the spirit of Leningrad." Casablanca and "unconditional surrender." The gloom-shrouded tenth anniversary of the founding of the National Socialist Party. Stalin: "Time now works against Germany." The early months of 1943. "Clearing the road to victory." More peace offensives, supported by the appeasers abroad. The execution of the Nazi spies, Alter and Ehrlich. The anti-Soviet actitivities of the Polish government-in-exile. The second "Mission to Moscow." Dissolution of the Comintern.

What a battle, and what a picture of that battle! One lives it all over again, the momentarily forgotten, yet never to be forgotten, headlines of the past two years. Here is historical narration of a new type: accurate, yet swift-moving and full of dramatic and revealing incident. That "battle of the third floor," for example, in Stalingrad. The subhead almost tells the story. And throughout, an unerring political rightness and depth of understanding.

Dedicated to "the fighters of the Czechoslovak Brigade on the Soviet Front," the book contains numerous fine illustrations, and there is an appendix giving Molotov's "Note on German Atrocities."

Andre Simone has made live for us the most stirring page in the annals of mankind. His book has an immediacy and a passion which later times may not possess. The civilized and freedom-loving world is in his debt.

SAMUEL PUTNAM.

Hangman's Rope

UNION RIGHTS AND UNION DUTIES, *by Joel Seidman. Harcourt, Brace Co. $2.50.*

MR. SEIDMAN's book is based upon the premise that "government regulation of unions, as of every other factor in economic life, will inevitably come. The labor movement is gaining too much power to hope that it can avail permanently some degree of supervision for the common

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good." The author's proposals for regulation of unions smack of NAM literature, but they are supposed to be more palatable because they are offered by a "friend of labor." The crux of the book is its claim that the unions are too strong. There is an assumption that labor's interests are at odds with those of the nation. Seidman fails to recognize that the difference between union members and the unorganized is largely that the former, through their unions, are able to take a more active part in our democracy—that democracy can best be served by extending organizations to the millions of unorganized workers, not by strangling the unions with regulation. The author omits any significant discussion of the union's role in the war as a basis for evaluating union rights and duties. Never in the history of America have the unions better demonstrated that, so far from being in opposition to the national interest, they are actually the nation's best and most consistent defenders. If anything has been revealed during this war it is that if the unions were stronger and more cohesive, they would more effectively fulfill their program and thereby help to bring victory over the Axis.

Mr. Seidman's discussion of three issues typifies his whole approach. First, he states that ultimately the unions must "realize that upon the welfare of their industry the well-being of their members depends." He cites the Baltimore and Ohio plan as an example of the kind of policy he has in mind—a plan that may have helped the railroad operators, but meant low wages, unemployment, and exploitation for the railroad workers. The author distorts the present labor-management committees, which the unions won, as comparable to the B & O plan. He slurs over the fact that the unions instituted such committees in order to do a better production job for the men on the fighting fronts. The purpose was certainly not to enhance profits or anything remotely connected with Seidman's paraphrase of the old Chamber of Commerce slogan that "What helps business helps you."

Second, he takes the position that the existence of racketeering in the labor movement is largely the membership's responsibility, while the ousting of racketeers has resulted solely from efforts by law enforcement officers. This is standing history on its head. It was the rank and file and its leadership which took the lead against the Lepkes and today conducts a struggle against Lewis, Hutcheson, and Ryan. Racketeering in the labor movement, like all other manifestations of suppression of union democracy, has been the product of employer anti-unionism and political corruption. Nor does Seidman show that the struggle against union racketeering is a war issue which has to be successfully fought through if the union's members are to make their full contribution to the war. The East Coast

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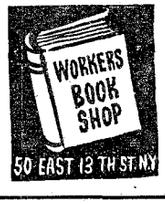

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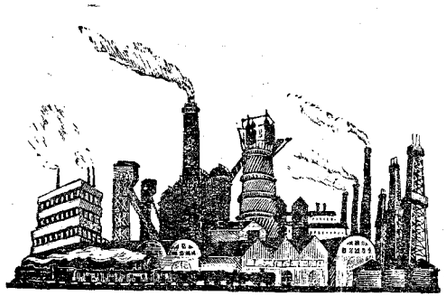

dock workers' fight against Ryan is a clear example.

Third, Seidman discusses at length discrimination against Negro and other workers, and arbitrary disciplining and expulsions. It is significant that he discusses the Negro worker without ever mentioning the outstanding work of the National Maritime Union. More, he takes pains to excuse the do-nothing policy of the AFL by claiming that national union autonomy prevents effective action. This is not a fact. AFL leaders in the past have thought nothing of interfering in the affairs of national unions for purposes of Red-baiting and political discrimination. The day that the AFL wants to go beyond pious resolutions and grudging toleration of the annual speech by A. Philip Randolph, that day Jim Crow will die in the AFL.

One phase of the discrimination issue is Seidman's concern with what he terms "Communist discrimination" against Trotskyites and Lovestoneites. This he puts on the same plane with discriminations practiced against members of the Communist Party. Whereas the Communists support the war, the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites have sought to disrupt the war effort and undermine the nation's security, facts which apparently do not, in Seidman's eyes, make them traitors to the nation and labor. Those who sponsor strikes and consciously fight for disunity can have no place in the labor movement. Their expulsion from unions would be mild punishment.

Seidman has prepared a noose for the labor movement. He has adorned it with ribbon and issued engraved invitations to the trade unions to try it on for size. But it remains a noose, the same kind that Congressmen Smith and Hobbs and the NAM have been preparing for the trade unions' lynching. No, thanks, Mr. Seidman; you use it.

GEORGE SQUIER.

Chicago Notes

HOME FRONT MEMO, *by Carl Sandburg. Harcourt, Brace. $3.00.*

IF ANYBODY is interested, I think I have hit upon one reason, or at least, for enjoying residence in Chicago, Carl Sandburg's newspaper pieces are printed once a week in that city. I like to think that he started writing them (they're printed in the *Times*) because of a sort of nervous tic resulting from exposure to the Chicago *Tribune*. For those of you, then, who for geographical reasons have been deprived of Mr. Sandburg's recent writing, it is a pleasure to report that America's best-loved people's poet is also a hell of a good prose writer, with his sleeves rolled 'way up to here and spit on his hands. He is also chocker-full of fables, stories, folklore, and folk-aphorisms than any other half-dozen people in the country.

Most of the entries in *Home Front Memo* are what Sandburg calls his "once-a-week pieces." They began back on April 6, 1941, and they have been continued every Sunday thereafter. May they go on and on, and may they be syndicated, here, there, and over there, too! Carl Sandburg has always gone to the well-springs of the people for his inspiration, and when you read what he has to say you appreciate again the value of a good, angry democrat—for instance, when he noted that "Bruddah Bill Bullitt" had been heard in public stressing the point that Russia is "godless." Sandburg remarks that the last time he saw Bruddah Bill he gave him Bugs Baer's definition of a diplomat: "A diplomat is a man who knows just where to put a piece of soap in the bathtub so the next man slips on it." Bruddah Bill didn't think it was funny, and rushed away. ("Bruddah" is a handle Sandburg reserves for those on whom he would heap his best, sixty-four-dollars-an-ounce scorn. Another one to qualify, for example, is Bruddah Norman Thomas.) You'll find a lot of the citizenry you like and dislike in these weekly pieces of Sandburg's, and you'll be happy to find that in most cases he agrees with you.

Also included in this book is "The American fable of the two maggots, one of them getting a nice break." I once heard Mr. Sandburg tell this story to two of the more prominent maggots of our American society, so I was glad to find it set down in print, where I knew I would always be able to find it again. So will you.

Finally, *Home Front Memo* includes the fine photographs taken by Lieut. Commander Edward Steichen for the Navy, together with Sandburg's glowing text. You may have seen them when they were on display at the Museum of Modern Art, or when they were on tour over the rest of the country. If you did, you will remember the matchless epitaph Sandburg wrote for those who fall in this war:

Silence, yes.
Let them have silence.
Call the roll of their names and
let it go at that.
To long sleep and deep silence
they have gone.
Deep among the never forgotten.

This one is good for the library of permanence.

GEORGE GARRETT.

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MADAME CURIE

MGM's biography of the famous woman scientist is "so obviously a genuine, sincerely worked out job . . . we would want it to be even better." Reviewed by Daniel Prentiss.

MGM's *Madame Curie* is such a well-meaning film, such solid craftsmanship enters its facture, and its approach is so positive, that I feel a churl indeed to peck away at its shortcomings. There have been altogether too few films —*Pasteur*, *Dr. Ehrlich's Magic Bullet*, *Baltic Deputy*, *Yellow Jack*, and *Fight for Life* about sums them up—which make the pursuit of science as immediate and absorbing as the steeplechase of the sexes. *Madame Curie* is a welcome and important addition. And if in the process *Madame Curie* celebrates the triumph of a *woman* scientist, there is all the more reason for satisfaction.

The chief trouble with this picturization of radium's discovery is that it suffers from a surfeit of respect, you might even say reverence. The film picks up the career of Marie Skladowska, later Professor Curie's wife, in her graduate work at the Sorbonne. From that phase, through the remainder of two hours and five minutes, no one concerned with the film's making seems to have gotten off his knees. That Marie Curie was one of the chosen people goes without saying, but not every moment of the day.

We are reminded in this connection of a story told about Beethoven. One day a friend called his attention to a particularly wonderful passage in the "Eroica." Beethoven responded: "I must have been a genius when I wrote that." To be sure, MGM's conception is infinitely preferable to a debunking approach, but this reviewer can't help but feel that the studio has canonized the great lady too early in the game. This is not to say that the terrestrial is entirely neglected in the picture. In particular, there is the episode of the professor's proposal to Marie—an amusing, beautifully worked out unit, cinematographic in the best sense of the word. But the *sanctus*, *sanctus*, *sanctus* is not far off.

MGM can take justifiable pride in the immense technical resources and rostrum of box-office stars at its disposal. (Incidentally, Greer Garson and Walter Pidgeon as the principals of *Madame Curie* deliver consistently intelligent performances.) I have always felt that *a priori* objection to a plenitude of production values was a retrogressive and indefensible position. But in several instances in *Madame Curie* the studio appears to have gone off the deep end. The treatment is over-luxurious with a consequent loss of reality. For example, there is never more than a handful of celebrants at the wedding of Curie and his wife, but the huzzas and hubbub that have been dubbed into the sound track could more appropriately accompany Bastille Day. Every group scene is handled in the same fashion.

Another quite brilliant passage has been deprived of its full effectiveness by the tendency to glamorize. The passage occurs after Marie has been widowed by the death of her husband in a street accident. Almost complete emotional paralysis seizes her, but finally she struggles through to some sort of balance. She sees before her the effects found on the person of her husband and somehow gathers up enough courage to take them in hand. As she does, many of the richest moments she has spent with the professor pass before her mind. With noteworthy skill director Mervin LeRoy has chosen to present Marie's complex feelings by means of an intense concentration on her hands, shown in close-up—a first rate example of what the film can do as well as any of the older arts, significant substitution of the part for the whole—synecdoche. But the entire effect fails of deserved success because it has been photographed like an advertisement for Eve Arden's Dermaglo, or whatever it's called. Mind you, these are the hands we've seen go through two years of dangerous and grimy work, performing some 6,000 distillations before radium can be extracted from the initial pitchblende.

But perhaps I am tending toward captiousness. It is not my intention. The truth of the matter is that *Madame Curie* is so obviously a genuine, sincerely workmanlike job that it brings out the dog in the manger in us. We would want it to be even better.

In addition to the credits that appear in the body of this review, acknowledgement must be made of script writers Paul Osborn and Paul H. Rameau, photographer Joseph Ruttenberg, editor Harold F. Kress, and to an excellent cast. Sidney Franklin produced.

JUDGED as light opera, Warner's *Desert Song* is a stratospheric improvement over any previous example of the genre I

Greer Garson and Walter Pidgeon in "Madame Curie."

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can recall. As a matter of fact, its comparatively adult qualities seem to have caught several reviewers of the press quite unprepared and caused them considerable embarrassment. As if intelligence were to be resented as an intruder, a Dybuk, in musicinema. A good cast performs with evident relief at being permitted to avoid the inanities of the 1929 film version, and Cameraman Bert Glennon's technicolor is well suited to the subject's requirements. I suggest taking in the movie if only to convince yourself that light opera can make sense.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

Holiday Circus

THE Museum of Modern Art's Holiday Circus for children between the ages of four and twelve is a junior art show, scaled in size and interest to the esthetic capacity of the very young. It offers not only a simple collection of sculptures and paintings, push-the-button gadgets and turn-the-crank movies, but also the means for visitors to work off their own creative stimulation on the spot.

The Circus is designed on the theory that art for children should include doing as well as seeing and the two dozen children invited for the opening seemed to agree vigorously. On the third floor just off the sculpture gallery the Circus has a turnstile entrance, a blue tent-ceiling, and is equipped with brightly painted easels and work tables with overturned butter tubs for seats. The room is divided in two by a wall made of poles set eight inches apart; one side for the seeing, the other for the doing. There is not too much to see and plenty to do. At the easels the water color paint is poured from syrup pitchers in generous quantities; on the work tables are clay to model and material for collages and constructions—cloth, wall-paper samples, toothpicks, gummed arrows and dots, feathers, wire, roundheads, and odds and ends that children know best how to utilize. Except for the man-sized scissors and wire-cutter all these things can be handled easily by any child, and for those who need help, mild supervision is provided. They can take home their own work, but the Museum hopes they won't.

This should be an all-year-round project. It's practically perfect for kids and a little such familiarity with art should go a long way toward preventing that slight uneasiness most adults experience in an art gallery. The Circus is so happily contrived the children know immediately this place belongs to them and they feel equally at home with the Picasso jigsaw puzzle and the Victorian balancing toys. Their own unabashed creations are ample proof.

The Circus starts at 10 AM daily except Sundays, through January 30. Monday and Friday afternoons are reserved for the children of members but otherwise the hours are 10 AM to noon, 2 PM to 5:30 except Sundays when there is only the afternoon session. Each child is permitted an hour's visit, and to keep the place from being cluttered by adults, only the under-six may be accompanied by a grown-up. If you don't have an under-six, perhaps you can borrow one. It's worth it just to watch the children paint.

JEAN WALKER.

Negro Units For USO

SOME nine weeks ago USO Camp Shows, Inc., assembled the first Negro unit for overseas work. This group toured the islands of the Caribbean and upon its return was invited to give a press report. The unit consisted of actors, singers, and musicians—Willie Bryant, Kenneth Spencer, Roger Juan Ramirez, Betty Logan, and Julie Gardner. Several facts emerged from the report—the thousands of Negro and white, American and British servicemen, voted this program the best in two years' entertainment; the officers and men were most solicitous for the performers' comfort and did everything possible to assure them a pleasant stay.

Further, what struck the members of the unit as the fact overriding all others was the complete absence of Jim Crow. Willie Bryant said that at St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, the reception given the group demonstrated "pure democracy." White and Negro officers and men mingled in true camaraderie. Spencer, the sole Negro actor in *Bataan,* was recognized all through the Islands for the fine job he did in that film. The most popular song in his entire

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repertory was Langston Hughes' "Freedom Road."

One of the things that made the soldiers think most of home was "Ram" Ramirez' Boogie-Woogie piano-playing. I believe this statement, as much as any thesis, proves the integration of the idiom of popular Negro music, blues, and jazz in America's cultural life. Spencer stated further that the most popular entertainer who visited the Islands was a Miss Atwell, British Negro concert pianist. The British troops clamored for her constantly.

There is a shortage of entertainment, both Negro and white, and the hunger for USO programs is incalculable. Implicit in everything these artists said was the regret that the number of Negro entertainers is not in proportion to the total number used in overseas work. This conference proved that the discrimination manufactured at home is non-existent in the world of the theater, and that the quality of the Negro programs is second to none. If the Special Service Command, in charge of USO overseas units, could have seen the tremendous Negro and white audience greet the Ellington recital at Carnegie Hall recently, whatever doubts might have existed on that score would have been speedly dissolved. I understand that this same unit is to be sent to Africa, Italy, and other places. The overseas troops hope that other Negro entertainers will soon follow. One Negro unit in two years of overseas entertainment is scarcely commensurate with the demands of a people's war.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

"Listen . . ."

"Listen Professor!" Peggy Philips' adaptation of the play by Soviet writer Alexander Afinogenov, opened a day late for our current-issue deadline. Samuel Sillen reviews it in next week's NM.

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